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GREAT SPEECHES OF THE WAR

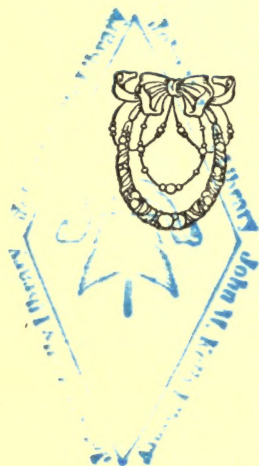






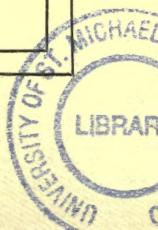
SIR EDWARD GREY
(MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

GREAT SPEECHES OF THE WAR



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Here in this volume are gathered together all the most important speeches dealing with the War in all its aspects by Ministers, by Members of Parliament, and by Public men both of our own Country and of our Allies, France, Belgium, and Russia—speeches which will in time become documents of the greatest historical interest.

These speeches have with a few exceptions been revised and corrected for this volume by their authors.

LIST OF SPEAKERS

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| RT. HON. SIR EDWARD GREY | I |
| JOHN REDMOND | 17 |
| RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN | 19 |
| RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH | 25 |
| EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON | 33 |
| RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW | 44 |
| RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR | 48 |
| RT. HON. SIR JOHN SIMON | 54 |
| EARL KITCHENER | 59 |
| RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE | 62 |
| DR. CLIFFORD | 75 |
| M. VIVIANI | 93 |
| RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE | 95 |
| RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL | 104 |
| EARL OF ROSEBERY | 121 |
| WILL CROOKS | 130 |
| HORATIO BOTTOMLEY | 135 |
| RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH | 151 |
| SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON NICOLL | 159 |

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| TOM RICHARDS | 163 |
| RT. HON. T. J. MACNAMARA | 166 |
| RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW | 173 |
| EARL OF ROSEBERY | 182 |
| T. P. O'CONNOR | 187 |
| JOHN REDMOND | 195 |
| RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH | 201 |
| RT. HON. T. MCKINNON WOOD | 209 |
| RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL | 216 |
| RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN | 220 |
| M. ARISTIDE BRIAND | 229 |
| EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON | 234 |
| SIR EDWARD HOLDEN | 238 |
| MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE | 248 |
| M. PAUL HYMAN | 258 |
| M. SAZONOFF | 263 |
| RT. HON. F. E. SMITH | 268 |
| RT. HON. SIR EDWARD GREY | 271 |
| RT. HON. LEWIS HARCOURT | 275 |
| RUDYARD KIPLING | 279 |
| RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL | 282 |
| VISCOUNT HALDANE | 292 |
| PHILIP SNOWDEN | 299 |
| PRINCE LICHNOWSKY | 307 |

LIST OF PLATES

| | |
|---|----------------------------|
| SIR EDWARD GREY | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| | <small>FACING PAGE</small> |
| RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR | 48 |
| RT. HON. SIR JOHN SIMON | 54 |
| EARL KITCHENER | 60 |
| RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE | 74 |
| M. RENÉ VIVIANI | 92 |
| RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL | 104 |
| EARL OF ROSEBERY | 122 |
| RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH | 152 |
| RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW | 174 |
| EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON | 234 |
| VISCOUNT HALDANE | 292 |



SIR EDWARD GREY

[Speech in the House of Commons August 4, 1914, in which he announced the position and intentions of the Government with reference to the War. The Chamber presented a memorable spectacle, all the old party divisions were obliterated, parties felt and recognized that a great Assembly was taking high decisions in a noble manner.]

MR. SPEAKER :—Last week I stated that we were working for peace not only for this country, but to preserve the peace of Europe. To-day—but events move so rapidly that it is exceedingly difficult to state with technical accuracy the actual state of affairs—it is clear that the peace of Europe cannot be preserved. Russia and Germany, at any rate, have declared war upon each other.

Before I proceed to state the position of his Majesty's Government and what our attitude is with regard to the present crisis, I would like to clear the ground that the House may know exactly under what obligations the Government is or the House can be said to be in coming to a decision upon the matter. First of all let me say very shortly that we have consistently worked with a single mind and with all the earnestness in our power to preserve the peace. [Cheers.] The House might be satisfied on that point. We have always done it, and in these last years, as far as his Majesty's Government are concerned we should have no difficulty in proving that we have done it. Through the Balkan crisis by general admission we worked for peace, and the co-operation of the Great Powers was successful in working for peace in that crisis. It is true that some Powers had great difficulty in adjusting their points of view and it took much time and labour and discussion before they could settle their differences, but peace was secured because peace was their main object and

they were willing to give time and trouble to the consideration of difficulties and not to accentuate the differences that arose.

In the present crisis it has not been possible to secure the peace of Europe, because there has been little time and there has been a disposition, at any rate in some quarters, on which I will not dwell, to force things rapidly to an issue—at any rate to the great risk of war—and we know that the result of that is that the policy of peace, as far as the Great Powers generally are concerned, has failed. I do not want to dwell upon that and to comment upon it, or to say where blame seems to us to lie, and which Powers were most in favour of peace, or which were most disposed to risk or to endanger peace, because I would like the House to approach the crisis in which we are from the point of view of British interests, British honour [loud Opposition cheers], British obligations [renewed cheers], and free from all passion. We shall publish papers as soon as we can regarding what took place last week when we were working for peace, and when these papers are published I have no doubt that to every human being they will make it clear how strenuous and genuine and whole-hearted our own efforts for peace were, and they will enable people to form their own judgment upon what forces were at work which operated against peace.

Now I come first to the question of British obligations. I have assured the House, and the Prime Minister has assured the House more than once, that if any crisis such as this arose we should come before the House of Commons and be able to say to the House that it was free to decide what the British attitude should be [cheers]; that we would have no secret engagement [cheers] to spring upon the House and should not tell the House that because we had entered upon that engagement there was an obligation of honour on the country. I will deal with that point to clear the ground first. There have been in Europe two diplomatic groups—the Triple Alliance, and what came to be called the Triple Entente—for some years past. The Triple Entente was not an Alliance; it was a diplomatic group. [Hear, hear.] The House will remember that in 1908 there was a crisis—also a Balkan crisis—which originated in the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Russian Minister, M. Isvolsky, happened to come to London—his visit had been planned before the crisis broke out—and I told him definitely then that this being a Balkan affair I did

not consider that public opinion in this country would justify us in promising him anything more than diplomatic support, and more was never asked from us, more was never given, and more was never promised.

In this present crisis up till yesterday we had also given no promise of anything more than diplomatic support. [Ministerial cheers from below the gangway.] Up till yesterday no promise of anything more than diplomatic support was given. To make this question of obligation clear to the House I must go back to the Morocco crisis of 1906. That was the time of the Algeiras Conference. It came at a very difficult time for his Majesty's Government, when a General Election was in progress. Ministers were scattered all over the country, and I was spending three days a week in my constituency and three days at the Foreign Office. I was asked a question whether if that crisis developed and there were war between France and Germany we would give armed support. I said then that I could promise nothing to any foreign Power unless it was subsequently to receive the whole-hearted support of public opinion here when the occasion arose. I said that in my opinion if a war were forced upon France then on the question of Morocco—a question which had just been the subject of agreement between this country and France; an agreement exceedingly popular on both sides [hear, hear]—if out of that agreement war were forced upon France at that time, in my opinion public opinion in this country would rally to the material support of France. [Cheers.] I expressed that opinion, but I gave no promise. I expressed that opinion throughout the crisis so far as I remember almost in the same words to the French Ambassador and the German Ambassador at that time. I made no promise and I used no threat.

Well, Sir, that position was accepted by the French Government, but they said to me at the time, I think very reasonably, "If you think it possible that public opinion in Great Britain might when a sudden crisis arose justify you in giving to France the armed support which you cannot promise in advance, unless between military and naval experts some conversations have taken place you will not be able to give that support, even if you wish to give it, when the time comes." There was force in that. I agreed to it and authorized these conversations to take place, but on the distinct understanding that nothing which passed between military and naval experts should bind either Government or restrict in any way their

freedom to come to a decision as to whether or not they would give their support when the time arose.

I have told the House that on that occasion a General Election was in progress. I had to take the responsibility of doing that without the Cabinet. It could not be summoned, and an answer had to be given. I consulted Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister; I consulted Lord Haldane, who was then Secretary of State for War; and the present Prime Minister, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was the most I could do. That was authorized, but on the distinct understanding that it left the hands of the Government free whenever a crisis arose. The fact that conversations between military and naval experts took place was later on—I think much later, because that crisis had passed, and the thing had ceased to be of importance—brought to the knowledge of the Cabinet. The Agadir crisis—and the Morocco crisis—came, and throughout that I took precisely the same line as had been taken in 1906. Subsequently, in 1912, after a discussion of the situation in the Cabinet, it was decided that we ought to have a definite understanding in writing, though it was to be only in the form of an unofficial letter, that these conversations were not binding upon the freedom of either Government.

On November 22, 1912, I wrote the letter to the French Ambassador which I will now read to the House, and received from him a letter in similar terms in reply. The letter which I have to read is this, and it will be known to the public now as the record that whatever took place between military and naval experts, they were not binding engagements upon the Governments :—

“MY DEAR AMBASSADOR,—From time to time in recent years the French and British naval and military experts have consulted together. It has always been understood that such consultation does not restrict the freedom of either Government to decide at any future time whether or not to assist the other with armed force. We have agreed that that consultation between experts is not, and ought not to be, regarded as an engagement that commits either Government to action in a contingency which has not yet arisen and may never arise. The disposition, for instance, of the French and British Fleets respectively at the present moment is not based on an engagement to co-operate in war. You have, however, pointed out that if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power it might become essential to know

whether it could in that event depend on the armed assistance of the other. I agree that if either Government had grave reason to expect an unprovoked attack by a third Power or something that threatened the general peace, it should immediately discuss with the other whether both Governments should act together to prevent aggression and to preserve peace, and, if so, what measures they would be prepared to take in common."

That is the starting point for the Government with regard to the present crisis. I think it makes it perfectly clear that what the Prime Minister and I have said in the House of Commons was perfectly justified as regards our freedom to decide in a crisis what our line should be, whether we should intervene or whether we should abstain. The Government remained perfectly free and *a fortiori* the House of Commons remained perfectly free. [Hear, hear.]

That I say to clear the ground from the point of view of obligations, and I think it is due to prove our good faith to the House of Commons that I should give that full information to the House now and say what I think is obvious from the letter I have just read, that we do not construe anything which has previously taken place in our diplomatic relations with other Powers in this matter as restricting the freedom of the Government to decide what attitude they shall take now or restricting the freedom of the House of Commons to decide what their attitude shall be. [Hear, hear.] I will go farther and say this. The situation in the present crisis is not precisely the same as it was in the Morocco question. In the Morocco question it was primarily a dispute which concerned France. It was a dispute, as it seemed to us, fastened upon France out of an agreement existing between us and France and published to the whole world under which we engaged to give France diplomatic support. I say that we were pledged to nothing more than diplomatic support, but we were definitely pledged by a definite agreement to side with France diplomatically in that question.

The present crisis has originated differently. It has not originated with regard to Morocco ; it has not originated with regard to anything on which we have a special agreement with France ; it has not originated with regard to anything which primarily concerns France. It originated in a dispute between Austria and Servia. Well, Sir, I may say this with the most absolute confidence, no Government and no country has less desire to be involved in war over the dispute between Austria

and Servia than the Government and country of France. [Loud cheers.] They are involved in it because of their obligations of honour [cheers] under a definite alliance with Russia. It is only fair to state to the House that those obligations of honour cannot apply in the same way to us. [Ministerial cheers.] We are not a party to the Franco-Russian Alliance; we do not even know the terms of that Alliance. Now so far I have, I think, faithfully and completely cleared the ground with regard to the question of obligation.

I now come to what we think the situation requires of us. We have had for many years a long-standing friendship with France. [Cheers.] I remember well the feeling in the House—my own feeling, for I spoke on the subject, I think, when the late Government made their agreement with France—the warm and cordial feeling resulting from the fact that these two nations, who had had perpetual differences in the past, had cleared those differences away. [Cheers.] I remember saying, I think, that it seemed to me that some benign influence had been at work to produce the cordial atmosphere which had made that possible. But how far that friendship entails obligation—and it has been a friendship of the nations [cheers] and ratified by the nations—let every man look into his own heart and his own feelings and construe the extent of the obligation for himself. [Cheers.] I construe it myself as I feel it, but I do not wish to urge upon anyone else more than their feelings dictate as to what they should feel about the obligation. The House individually and collectively may judge for itself.

But now I speak personally for myself from the point of view of feeling.

The French Fleet is now in the Mediterranean. [Cheers.] The northern and western coasts of France are absolutely undefended. When the French Fleet comes to be concentrated in the Mediterranean, there is a very different situation from what it used to be because the friendship which grew up between the two countries had given them a sense of security that there was nothing to be feared from us. Her coasts are absolutely undefended, her Fleet is in the Mediterranean, and has been for some years concentrated there, because of the feeling of confidence and friendship which has existed between the two countries.

My own feeling is this, that if a foreign Fleet, engaged in a war which France had not sought and in which she had not

been the aggressor, came down the English Channel and bombarded and battered the unprotected coasts of France, we could not stand aside [loud cheers] and see the thing going on practically within sight of our eyes, with our arms folded, looking on dispassionately doing nothing, and I believe that would be the feeling of this country. [Cheers.] There are times when one's own individual feeling makes one feel that if the circumstances actually did arise it would be a feeling that would spread with irresistible force throughout the land—in face of a thing happened.

But I want to look at the thing also without sentiment from the point of view of British interests [cheers] and it is on that that I am going to base and justify what I am presently going to say to the House. If we are to say nothing at this moment, what is France to do with her Fleet in the Mediterranean? If she leaves it there with no statement from us on what we will do, she leaves her northern and western coasts absolutely undefended at the mercy of a German fleet coming down the Channel to do as it pleases in a war which is a war of life and death between them. [Cheers.] If we say nothing, it may be that the French Fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean. We are in the presence of a European conflagration. Can anybody set limits to the consequences which may arise out of it?

Let us assume that to-day we stand aside in an attitude of neutrality, saying, "No, we cannot undertake and engage to help either party in the conflict." Let us assume the French Fleet is withdrawn from the Mediterranean; let us assume that the consequences—which are already tremendous in what has already happened in Europe even in countries which are at peace—in fact, equally whether countries are at peace or war; let us assume that out of that come consequences unforeseen which make it necessary at a sudden moment that, in defence of vital British interests, we should go to war. Let us assume, which is quite possible, that Italy, who is now neutral because, as I understand, she considers this war is an aggressive war [cheers], and the Triple Alliance being a defensive alliance her obligations do not arise—let us assume that consequences which are not yet foreseen, which perfectly legitimately, consulting her own interests, made Italy depart from her attitude of neutrality at a time when we are forced in defence of vital British interests to fight ourselves.

What will be the position in the Mediterranean then?

It might be that at some critical moment those consequences would be forced upon us when the trade routes in the Mediterranean might be vital to this country. Nobody can say that, in the course of the next few weeks, there is any particular trade route the opening of which may not be vital to this country. What will our position be then? We have not kept a fleet in the Mediterranean which is equal to deal with a combination of other fleets alone in the Mediterranean. That would be the very moment when we could not detach more ships for the Mediterranean and we might have exposed this country from our negative attitude at the present moment to a most appalling risk.

I say that from the point of view of British interests we felt strongly that France was entitled to know and to know at once [cheers] whether or not in the event of attack upon her unprotected northern and western coasts she could depend upon British support, and in that emergency and in these compelling circumstances yesterday afternoon I gave to the French Ambassador the following statement :

"I am authorized to give the assurance that, if the German Fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against French coasts or shipping, the British Fleet will give all the protection in its power. [Great cheers.] This assurance is, of course, subject to the policy of his Majesty's Government receiving the support of Parliament, and must not be taken as binding his Majesty's Government to take any action until the above contingency or action of the German Fleet takes place."

I read that to the House, not as a declaration of war on our part, not as entailing immediate aggressive action on our part, but as binding us to take aggressive action should that contingency arise. Things move very hurriedly from hour to hour, fresh news comes in, and I cannot give this in any very formal way, but I understand that the German Government would be prepared, if we would pledge ourselves to neutrality, to agree that its Fleet would not attack the northern coast of France. [Hon. members.—"Oh!" and cheers.] I have only heard that shortly before I came to the House, but it is far too narrow an engagement for us. [Loud cheers.] And, Sir, there is the more serious consideration, becoming more serious every hour—there is the question of the neutrality of Belgium. [Cheers.]

I shall have to put before the House at some length what

our position in regard to Belgium is. The governing factor is the Treaty of 1839, but this is a treaty with a history—a history accumulated since. In 1870, when there was war between France and Germany, the question of the neutrality of Belgium arose and various things were said. Amongst other things Prince Bismarck gave an assurance to Belgium that, confirming his verbal assurance, he gave in writing a declaration which he said was superfluous in reference to the Treaty in existence—that the German Confederation and its allies would respect the neutrality of Belgium, it being always understood that that neutrality would be respected by the other belligerent Powers. That is valuable as a recognition in 1870 on the part of Germany of the sacredness of these treaty rights. What was our own attitude? The people who laid down the attitude of the British Government were Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons. Lord Granville on August 8 used these words. He said :

“ We might have explained to the country and to foreign nations that we did not think this country was bound, either morally or internationally, or that its interests were concerned in the maintenance of the neutrality of Belgium. Though this course might have had some conveniences, though it might have been easy to adhere to it, though it might have saved us from some immediate danger, it is a course which her Majesty’s Government thought it impossible to adopt in the name of the country, with any due regard to the country’s honour and to the country’s interests.”

Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows two days later :

“ There is, I admit, an obligation of the Treaty. It is not necessary nor would time permit me to enter into the complicated question of the nature of the obligation under that Treaty. But I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this House what plainly amounts to the assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party to-day irrespectively altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises. The great authorities upon foreign policy to whom I have been accustomed to listen, such as Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston, never to my knowledge took that rigid, and if I may venture to say so, that impracticable view of the guarantee. The circumstance that there is already an existing guarantee in force is, of necessity, an important fact, and a weighty element in the case to which we are bound to give full and ample consideration. There

is also this further consideration, the force of which we must all feel most deeply, and that is, the common interest against the unmeasured aggrandisement of any Power whatever."

The Treaty is an old Treaty—1839. That was the view taken of it in 1870. It is one of those treaties which are founded, not only on consideration for Belgium which benefits under the Treaty, but in the interests of those who guarantee the neutrality of Belgium. The honour and interests are at least as strong to-day as they were in 1870, and we cannot take a more narrow view or a less serious view of our obligations, and of the importance of those obligations, than was taken by Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1870. [Cheers.]

Well now, Sir, I will read to the House what took place last week on this subject. When mobilization was beginning I knew that this question must be a most important element in our policy, and a most important subject for the House of Commons. I telegraphed at the same time in similar terms to both Paris and Berlin to say that it was essential for us to know whether the French and German Governments, respectively, were prepared to undertake an engagement to respect the neutrality of Belgium. I got from the French Government this :

"The French Government are resolved to respect the neutrality of Belgium, and it would only be in the event of some other Power violating that neutrality that France might find herself under the necessity, in order to assure the defence of her security, to act otherwise. This assurance has been given several times. The President of the Republic spoke of it to the King of the Belgians, and the French Minister at Brussels has spontaneously renewed the assurance to the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs to-day."

From the German Government the reply was :

"The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could not possibly give an answer before consulting the Emperor and the Chancellor."

Sir Edward Goschen, to whom I had said it was important to have an answer soon, said he hoped the answer would not be too long delayed. The German Minister for Foreign Affairs then gave Sir Edward Goschen to understand that he rather doubted whether they could answer at all, as any reply they might give could not fail, in the event of war, to have the undesirable effect of disclosing to a certain extent part of their

plan of campaign. [Ironical laughter.] I telegraphed, at the same time, to Brussels to the Belgian Government, and I got the following reply from Sir Francis Villiers :

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs thanks me for the communication and replies that Belgium will, to the utmost of her power, maintain neutrality, and expects and desires other Powers to observe and uphold it. He begged me to add that the relations between Belgium and the neighbouring Powers was excellent and there was no reason to suspect their intentions, but that the Belgian Government believed that in the case of violation they were in a position to defend the neutrality of their country."

[Cheers.] It now appears from the news I have received to-day, which has come quite recently—and I am not yet quite sure how far it has reached me in an accurate form—the news is that an ultimatum has been given to Belgium by Germany, the object of which was to offer Belgium friendly relations with Germany on condition that she would facilitate the passage of German troops through Belgium. [Ironical laughter.] Well, Sir, until one has these things absolutely definitely, up to the last moment I do not wish to say all that one would say if one was in a position to give the House full, complete, and absolute information upon the point. Sir, we were sounded once, in the course of last week, as to whether, if a guarantee was given that after the war Belgian integrity would be preserved, that would content us. We replied that we could not bargain away whatever interests or obligations we had in Belgian neutrality. [Cheers.]

Shortly before I reached the House I was informed that the following telegram has been received from the King of the Belgians by King George :

"Remembering the numerous proofs of your Majesty's friendship and that of your predecessor, and the friendly attitude of England in 1870 and the proof of friendship you have just given us again, I make a supreme appeal to the diplomatic intervention of your Majesty's Government to safeguard the integrity of Belgium."

Diplomatic intervention took place last week on our part. What can diplomatic intervention do now? We have great and vital interests in the independence, and integrity is the least part of the independence of Belgium. [Loud cheers.] If Belgium is compelled to submit to allow her neutrality to be violated, of course the situation is clear. Even if, by agreement, she admitted the violation of her neutrality, it is clear

she could only do so under duress. The smaller States in that region of Europe ask but one thing; their one desire is that they should be left alone and independent. The one thing they fear is, I think, not so much that their integrity, but that their independence should be interfered with. If in this war which is before Europe the neutrality of one of those countries is violated, if the troops of one of the combatants violate its neutrality and no action is taken to resent it, at the end of the war whatever the integrity may be the independence will be gone. [Cheers.]

I have one further quotation from Mr. Gladstone as to what he thought about the independence of Belgium. It will be found in Hansard, Volume 203, page 1,788. I have not had time to read the whole speech and verify the context, but the thing seems to me so clear that no context could make any difference to the meaning of it. He said :

"We have an interest in the independence of Belgium which is wider than that which we may have in the literal operation of the guarantee. It is found in the answer to the question whether, under the circumstances of the case, this country, endowed as it is with influence and power, would quietly stand by and witness the perpetration of the direst crime that ever stained the pages of history, and thus become participators in the sin."

[Loud cheers.]

No, Sir, if it be the case that there has been anything in the nature of an ultimatum to Belgium asking her to compromise or violate her neutrality, whatever may have been offered to her in return, her independence is gone if that holds. If her independence goes the independence of Holland will follow.

Now, Sir, I ask the House, from the point of view of British interests, to consider what may be at stake. If France is beaten in a struggle of life and death, beaten to her knees, loses her position as a Great Power, becomes subordinate to the will and power of one greater than herself—consequences which I do not anticipate, because I am sure that France has the power to defend herself with all the energy and ability and patriotism which she has shown so often [loud cheers]—still if that were to happen, and if Belgium fell under the same dominating influence, and then Holland and then Denmark, then would not Mr. Gladstone's words come true, that just opposite to us there would be a common interest against the unmeasured aggrandisement of any Power? [Loud cheers.]

It may be said, I suppose, that we might stand aside, husband our strength, and that, whatever happened in the course of this war, at the end of it intervene with effect to put things right and to adjust them to our own point of view. If in a crisis like this we ran away [loud cheers] from those obligations of honour and interest as regards the Belgian Treaty, I doubt whether whatever material force we might have at the end it would be of very much value in face of the respect that we should have lost ; and, do not believe, whether a Great Power stands outside this war or not, it is going to be in a position at the end of this war to exert its superior strength. For us, with a powerful Fleet which we believe able to protect our commerce and to protect our shores and to protect our interests, if we are engaged in war we shall suffer but little more than we shall suffer even if we stand aside. We are going to suffer, I am afraid, terribly in this war, whether we are in it or whether we stand aside. [Cheers.] Foreign trade is going to stop, not because the trade routes are closed, but because there is no other trade at the end. Continental nations engaged in war, all their populations, all their energies, all their wealth, engaged in a desperate struggle—they cannot carry on the trade with us that they are carrying on in times of peace, whether we are parties to the war or whether we are not. At the end of this war, whether we have stood aside or whether we have been engaged in it, I do not believe for a moment—even if we had stood aside and remained aside—that we should be in a position, a material position, to use our force decisively to undo what had happened in the course of the war, to prevent the whole of the west of Europe opposite to us, if that had been the result of the war, falling under the domination of a single Power.

Now, I can only say that I put the question of Belgium somewhat hypothetically, because I am not yet sure of all the facts ; but if the facts turn out to be as they have reached us at present it is quite clear that there is an obligation on this country to do its utmost to prevent the consequences to which those facts will lead if they are undisputed. I have read to the House the only engagements that we have yet taken definitely with regard to the use of force. I think it is due to the House to say that we have taken no engagement yet with regard to sending an expeditionary armed force out of the country. Mobilization of the Fleet has taken place [cheers] ; mobilization of the Army is taking place [renewed cheers],

but we have as yet taken no engagement, because I do feel that in the case of a European conflagration such as this, without precedent, with our enormous responsibilities in India and other parts of the Empire, or countries in British occupation, with all the unknown factors, we must take very carefully into consideration the use which we make of sending an Expeditionary Force out of the country until we know how we stand.

One thing I would say. The one bright spot in the whole of this terrible situation is Ireland. [Prolonged cheers.] The general feeling throughout Ireland, and I would like this to be clearly understood abroad, does not make that a consideration that we feel we have to take into account. [Cheers.] I have told the House how far we have at present gone in commitments, and the conditions which influence our policy; and I have put and dealt at length to the House upon how vital the condition of the neutrality of Belgium is.

What other policy is there before the House? There is but one way in which the Government could make certain at the present moment of keeping outside this war, and that would be that it should immediately issue a proclamation of unconditional neutrality. We cannot do that [cheers]; we have made a commitment to France, which I have read to the House, which prevents us from doing that. We have got the consideration of Belgium also which prevents us from any unconditional neutrality, and without those conditions absolutely satisfied and satisfactory we are bound not to shrink from proceeding to the use of all the forces in our power. If we did take that line by saying we will have nothing whatever to do with this matter—that no conditions of the Belgian Treaty obligations, the possible position in the Mediterranean, with damage to British interests, and what may happen to France from our failure to support France—if we were to say that all those things mattered nothing, were as nothing, and to say we would stand aside, we should, I believe, sacrifice our respect and good name and reputation before the world, and should not escape the most serious and grave economic consequences. [Cheers, and a Voice “No.”]

My object has been to explain the view of the Government, and to place before the House the issue and the choice. I do not for a moment conceal, after what I have said and after the information—incomplete as it is—that I have given to the House with regard to Belgium, that we must be prepared, and

we are prepared—[cheers]—for the consequence of having to use all the strength we have at any moment—we know not how soon—to defend ourselves and to take our part. We know, if the facts all be as I have stated them, though I have announced no intending aggressive action on our part, no final decision to resort to force at a moment's notice until we know the whole of the case, that the use of it may be forced upon us.

As far as the forces of the Crown are concerned we are ready. I believe the Prime Minister and my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty have no doubt whatever that the readiness and the efficiency of those forces were never at a higher mark than they are to-day [cheers], and never was there a time when confidence was more justified in the power of the Navy to protect our commerce and to protect our shores. The thought is with us always of the suffering and misery entailed, from which no country in Europe will escape and from which no abstention or neutrality will save us. The amount of harm that can be done by an enemy's ships to our trade is infinitesimal compared with the amount of harm that must be done by the economic condition that is caused on the Continent. The most awful responsibility is resting upon the Government in deciding what to advise the House of Commons to do. We have disclosed our mind to the House. We have disclosed the issue, the information which we have, and made clear to the House, I trust, that we are prepared to face that situation, and that should it develop as it seems probable to develop, we will face it. [Cheers.]

We worked for peace up to the last moment, and beyond the last moment. How hard, how persistently and how earnestly we strove for peace last week, the House will see from the papers that are before it. But that is over so far as the peace of Europe is concerned. We are now face to face with a situation and all the consequences which it may yet have to unfold. We believe we shall have the support of the House at large in proceeding to whatever the consequences may be and whatever measures may be forced upon us by the development of facts or action taken by others. [Cheers.] I believe the country, so quickly has the situation been forced upon it, has not had time to realize the issue. It, perhaps, is still thinking of the quarrel between Austria and Servia and not the complications of this matter which have grown out of the quarrel between Austria and Servia. Russia and Germany we know are at war ; we do not yet know officially that Austria,

the ally whom Germany is to support, is yet at war with Russia. We know that a good deal has been happening on the French frontier. We do not know that the German Ambassador has left Paris. The situation has developed so rapidly that, technically, as regards the condition of the war, it is most difficult to describe what has actually happened. I wanted to bring out the underlying things which would affect our own conduct, and our own policy, and to put them clearly. I have put this vital fact before the House, and if, as seems only too probable, we are forced, and rapidly forced, to take our stand upon those issues, then I believe, when the country realizes what is at stake, what the real issues are, the magnitude of the impending dangers in the West of Europe which I have endeavoured to describe to the House, then I believe we shall be supported throughout, not only by the House of Commons, but by the determination and the resolution, the courage, and the endurance of the whole country. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

JOHN REDMOND

[Speech of the Irish Nationalist Leader in the House of Commons on the historic meeting of August 4, 1914. It is not too much to say that Mr. Redmond's fervent speech re-united as by magic the discordant factions by which the country seemed likely to be torn and divided, and on which Germany doubtless counted greatly.]

MR. SPEAKER :—I hope the House will not consider it improper on my part in the grave circumstances in which we are assembled if I intervene for a very few moments. I was moved a great deal by that sentence in the speech of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in which he said that the one bright spot in the situation was the changed feeling in Ireland. In past times, when this Empire has been engaged in these terrible enterprises it is true—it would be the utmost affectation and folly on my part to deny it—the sympathy of the Nationalists of Ireland, for reasons to be found deep down in centuries of history, has been estranged from this country. But allow me to say that what has occurred in recent years has altered the situation completely. [Ministerial cheers.] I must not touch, and I may be trusted not to touch, on any controversial topics, but this I may be allowed to say—that a wider knowledge of the real facts of Irish history have, I think, altered the view of the democracy of this country towards the Irish question, and to-day I honestly believe that the democracy of Ireland will turn with the utmost anxiety and sympathy to this country in every trial and every danger that may overtake it. [General cheers.]

There is a possibility at any rate of history repeating itself. The House will remember that in 1778, at the end of the disastrous American war, when it might, I think, truly be said that the military power of this country was almost at its

lowest ebb, and when the shores of Ireland were threatened with foreign invasion, a body of 100,000 Irish Volunteers sprang into existence for the purpose of defending her shores. At first no Catholic—ah! how sad the reading of the history of those days is—was allowed to be enrolled in that body of Volunteers, and yet from the very first day the Catholics of the South and West subscribed money and sent it towards the arming of their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Ideas widened as time went on, and finally the Catholics in the South were armed and enrolled brothers in arms with their fellow-countrymen of a different creed in the North. May history repeat itself! [Cheers.]

To-day there are in Ireland two large bodies of Volunteers. One of them sprang into existence in the North. Another has sprung into existence in the South. I say to the Government that they may to-morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. [General cheers.] I tell them that the coasts of Ireland will be defended from foreign invasion by her armed sons, and for this purpose armed Nationalist Catholics in the South will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen in the North. [Cheers.] Is it too much to hope that out of this situation there may spring a result which will be good not merely for the Empire, but good for the future welfare and integrity of the Irish nation? [Cheers.]

I ought to apologize for having intervened [cries of "No"], but while Irishmen generally are in favour of peace, and would desire to save the democracy of this country from all the horrors of war, while we would make any possible sacrifice for that purpose, still if the dire necessity is forced upon this country we offer to the Government of the day that they may take their troops away, and that if it is allowed to us in comradeship with our brethren in the North we will ourselves defend the coasts of our country. [Loud cheers.]

RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

[Speech at a great public meeting held in the Birmingham Town Hall on December 15, 1914.]

MY LORD MAYOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I beg to propose the following resolution :—

That this meeting of the citizens of Birmingham, convinced that we are fighting in a just cause for the existence of the national honour and for the protection of the rights and liberties of Europe, pledges itself to support the Prime Minister's appeal to the nation, and assures the Government of hearty co-operation in all measures that they may consider necessary for bringing the war to a victorious conclusion, and for securing a lasting peace.

These are remarkable times, and this is a remarkable gathering. Nothing would have seemed more unlikely six months ago, when party passion ran as high, or higher, than I have ever known it to be in a somewhat long experience, than that within so short a time there should be gathered within one hall, as there are to-night, men of every class, of every creed, of every shade of political opinion, to urge one common policy on each other, and on the Government, and to pledge to that Government all the support that each one of us can bring. Yet this meeting is but one of hundreds and thousands that have been, or are being, held throughout the country, in like circumstances and similar conditions. What we could never have done for ourselves the Germans have done for us. They have made us a united people, and the Government speaks to-day with the authority and the strength of a National Government, supported by every section of the people. All criticism is silent, all party conflict is hushed, all other questions are set aside to bide their time. For the moment there is but one question: How best to bring this war to a victorious close and most securely to lay the foundation of an enduring peace. And it is well that it should be so.

Things have gone well, but the task before us is no light one. It is true that German plans have been upset and thwarted; it is true that all those calculations based on scientific organization have been proved false. It is true that they have failed to strike that swift and decisive blow against France which was the basis of their whole strategy. It is true that Serbia, imperishable Serbia, is still uncrushed; it is true that Belgium, under her brave King, has given an example to the world that will ring throughout the ages wherever men care for home and country. It is true the German plans have failed, and that Germany has been thwarted, but everywhere still the fight is being waged upon the territories of the Allies, and until the German arms have been rolled back by Russia on the east and by the other Allies on the west, not until our forces meet in Germany can victory be won or lasting peace secured.

It calls for great sacrifices. There is not a household throughout the land, to whatever class its inmates belong, that has not many of those that are near and dear to them serving at the front or preparing themselves to serve there as soon as their country calls for them to go. Many a home will be darkened, many a promising life cut short, before this struggle comes to an end; but if it comes to the right end, if the peace is a real peace, then no life that has been lost has been sacrificed in vain, no man who has given his life has given it without the reward he hoped for, the safety of his country, the protection of her honour, and the restoration and confirmation of the liberties of Europe. But the Allies entered on this struggle at a disadvantage, and we were at the greatest disadvantage of all. None of the Allies sought war. None of the Allies dreamed of making aggressive war. The most they hoped or desired was to defend themselves successfully if they were attacked. And we, of all the Great Powers of Europe, were least equipped and least prepared, alike mentally by our ordinary habits of thought and physically by the number of our forces and by the amount of our equipment, to take part in such a colossal struggle as this.

Then look on the other side of the picture. Prussia, which three times broke the peace in the last century, each time as a result of careful calculation, each time after careful and elaborate preparation, each time at her own moment when she was ready and her enemy was not—Prussia, which secured

her supremacy in Germany by the war against Austria, by that great policy described by Bismarck in the famous phrase that it was by blood and iron that their unity was to be secured—Germany, so united by the same policy of blood and iron, secured predominance on the Continent when she crushed France in the war of 1870 ; that Germany, now in this new century, before the actual outbreak of this war, has three times brought Europe to the brink of war and has now thrust Europe over the brink into war.

But then, the aggressor has all the advantages. He makes his plans beforehand, he knows his purpose, he chooses his time. Read the White Paper published by our Government ; read the conversation held between the German Ambassador at Vienna and our representative there, when he said to him : “ France is not ready for war, Russia is not so unwise as to take part in a war which would raise awkward questions for her in Poland and elsewhere. We know very well what we are doing when we back Austria.” Believe me, gentlemen, you do not realize what the task is that lies before you, you do not know the dangers that you have confronted in the past, you are not in a position to see what are the conditions which can alone guarantee you in the future, unless you recognize that, for a generation and more, Germany has been preparing for this struggle, has deliberately set herself to bring this struggle about in Germany’s own time, so that, having secured a predominance on the Continent, she might henceforth exercise the hegemony of the world. I sometimes see it stated that we are not fighting against Germany, that we are fighting against a Prussian military caste, and a spirit of militarism. That is partly true, but it is not the whole truth. For Prussia has Prussianized Germany, and you do not begin to understand this question unless you realize that you are fighting Germany, that Germany is as united as we are and will fight as hard and all the harder, when she is pushed back into her own land, and there begins to see and suffer some—necessarily to suffer some part, though I hope not all—of the misery she has inflicted in Belgium, in France, and in Poland. Whichever way you turn, in our own White Book, in the French Yellow Book, in the revelations the other day of Signor Giolitti in the Italian Parliament, you see that this struggle is not an accident. It is not a sudden outburst in a moment when the rulers of Germany lost their heads. It is the deliberate culmination of a policy

not do—I will not say our share, but more than our share, as is the right of the eldest born, in the crisis where the fate of all the race is concerned. I am quite certain that all will be done that is needed, that the men that are wanted will come forward.

I have little patience—and I am glad that Mr. Bonar Law made his protest yesterday—I have little patience with those who fill our ears with cries that our people are backward. Considering how little their statesmen prepared them beforehand for this struggle, which some of us have seen approaching for twenty years and more, I think it is wonderful with what unanimity they have acted, and with what splendid enthusiasm they have come forward. I am certain—and I hope Mr. Samuel will take this message from Birmingham to London—that the Government can have whatever number of men they think necessary, if they will take us into their confidence, tell us bad news as well as good news, tell us what they need, ask for what they want. And I go further, and say that, without prejudging what is to be the future policy of this country—which cannot be settled until this struggle is fought out, and until we know what sort of a Europe confronts us at the end—there is no man of us who will not give the Government any powers that are needed to ensure the victory of our arms. Whatever be the effect of those powers on our liberties, we will not hesitate, if men are not forthcoming otherwise, to give them powers to take men as they need them.

I was born in this city. It is endeared to me by all the most sacred memories of my life. I watch its acts and its fortunes, with the sympathy that comes of a heart full of grateful memories, and with a pride that comes of the lesson I learned from the man to whom I owe everything of the part that it has played, and the spirit it has shown, in great national crises. And in this great struggle, the greatest not in numbers only, but in the issues which are hanging in the balance, in this great struggle, the greatest that the world has ever seen, I am jealous of the honour of my native city. I want it to be, my Lord Mayor, as you have been able to say it is, always in the forefront of our national life, not content unless it can set a shining example wherever the English language is spoken and the British name is held dear.

RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

[Speech at a great patriotic meeting of the Citizens of London held in the Guildhall on September 4, 1914. The Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Opposition, were the principal speakers.]

MY LORD MAYOR AND CITIZENS OF LONDON :—It is three years and a half since I last had the honour of addressing in this hall a gathering of the citizens. We were then met under the presidency, my Lord Mayor, of one of your predecessors—men of all creeds and parties—to celebrate and approve the joint declaration of the two great English-speaking States that for the future any differences between them should be settled, if not by agreement, at least by judicial inquiry and arbitration, and never in any circumstances by war. [Cheers.]

Those of us who hailed that eirenicon between the United States and ourselves as a landmark on the road of progress were not sanguine enough to think or even to hope that the era of war was drawing to a close—still less were we prepared to anticipate the terrible spectacle which now confronts us—a contest which for the number and importance of the Powers engaged, the scale of their armaments and arms, the width of the theatre of conflict, the outpouring of blood and the loss of life, the incalculable toll of suffering levied upon non-combatants, the material and moral loss accumulating day by day to the higher interests of civilized mankind—a contest which in every one of these aspects is without precedent in the annals of the world.

We were very confident three years ago in the rightness of our position when we welcomed the new securities for peace. We are equally confident in it to-day, when reluctantly and against our will, but with a clear judgment and a clean conscience [cheers], we find ourselves involved with the whole strength of this Empire in a bloody arbitrament between

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might and right. [Cheers.] The issue has passed out of the domain of argument into another field.

But let me ask you, and through you the world outside, what would have been our condition as a nation to-day if we had been base enough, through timidity or through a perverted calculation of self-interest, or through a paralysis of the sense of honour and duty [cheers], to be false to our word and faithless to our friends? [Cheers.] Our eyes would have been turned at this moment with those of the whole civilized world to Belgium—a small State which has lived for more than seventy years under a special and collective guarantee, to which we, in common with Prussia and Austria, were parties—and we should have seen, at the instance and by the action of two of these guaranteeing Powers, her neutrality violated, her independence strangled, her territory made use of as affording the easiest and most convenient road to a war of unprovoked aggression against France. [Cheers.] We, the British people, should at this moment have been standing by with folded arms and with such countenance as we could command, while this small and unprotected State, in defence of her vital liberties, made a heroic stand against overweening and overwhelming force. We should have been watching as detached spectators the siege of Liège, the steady and manful resistance of a small Army, the occupation of the capital, with its splendid traditions and memories, the gradual forcing back of the patriotic defenders of their native land to the ramparts of Antwerp, countless outrages suffered by, and buccaneering levies exacted from, the unoffending civil population, and finally the greatest crime committed against civilization and culture since the Thirty Years' War—the sack of Louvain. [Cries of "Shame."] With its buildings, its pictures, its unique library, its unrivalled associations, a shameless holocaust of irreparable treasures lit up by blind barbarian vengeance. [Cheers.]

What account should we, the Government and the people of this country, have been able to render to the tribunal of our national conscience and sense of honour if, in defiance of our plighted and solemn obligations, we had not done our best to prevent, yes, and to avenge, these intolerable wrongs? [Cheers.]

For my part, I say that sooner than be a silent witness, which means in effect a willing accomplice of this tragic triumph of force over law and of brutality over freedom, I would see this country of ours blotted out of the page of history. [Prolonged cheers.]

That is only a phase, a lurid and illuminating phase, in the contest to which we have been called by the mandate of duty and of honour to bear our part. The cynical violation of the neutrality of Belgium was after all but a step, the first step, in a deliberate policy of which, if not the immediate, the ultimate and not far distant aim was to crush the independence and the autonomy of the free States of Europe. First Belgium, then Holland and Switzerland—countries like our own imbued and sustained with the spirit of liberty—we were one after the other to be bent to the yoke, and these ambitions were fed and fostered by a body of new doctrines and new philosophy preached by professors and learned men. The free and full self-development which to these small States, to ourselves, to our great and growing Dominions over the seas, to our kinsmen across the Atlantic, is the well-spring and life-breath of national existence; that free self-development is the one capital offence in the code of those who have made force their supreme divinity and upon its altars are prepared to sacrifice both the gathered fruits and potential germs of the unfettered human spirit. I use this language advisedly. This is not merely a material, it is also a spiritual conflict. [Cheers.] Upon this issue everything that contains the promise and hope that leads to emancipation and fuller liberty for the millions who make up the masses of mankind will be found sooner or later to depend.

Let me now turn to the actual situation in Europe. How do we stand? For the last ten years, by what I believe to be happy and well-considered diplomatic arrangements, we have established friendly and increasingly intimate relations with two Powers—France and Russia—with whom in days gone by we have had in various parts of the world occasions for friction, and now and again for possible conflict. These new and better relations, based in the first instance upon business principles of give and take, matured into a settled temper of confidence and good will. They were never in any sense or at any time, as I have frequently said in this hall, directed against other Powers. [Cheers.] No man in the history of the world has ever laboured more strenuously or more successfully than my right hon. friend Sir Edward Grey [cheers] for that which is the supreme interest of the modern world—a general and abiding peace. It is a very superficial criticism which suggests that under his guidance the policy of this country has ignored, still less that it has counteracted

and hampered, the Concert of Europe. It is little more than a year ago that, under his presidency, in the stress and strain of the Balkan crisis, the Ambassadors of all the Great Powers met here day after day curtailing the area of possible differences, reconciling warring ambitions and aims, and preserving against almost incalculable odds the general harmony; and it was in the same spirit and with the same purpose, when, a few weeks ago, Austria delivered her ultimatum to Servia, that the Foreign Secretary, for it was he, put forward a proposal for a mediating Conference between the four Powers who were not directly concerned—Germany, France, Italy, and ourselves. If that proposal had been accepted actual controversy would have been settled with honour to everybody, and the whole of this terrible welter would have been avoided.

And with whom does the responsibility rest? [Cries of "The Kaiser."] For its refusal and for all the illimitable sufferings which now confront the world? One Power and one Power only, and that Power is Germany. [Cheers and hisses.] That is the fountain and origin of this world-wide catastrophe. We persevered to the end. No one who has not been confronted as we were with the responsibility which, unless you have been face to face with it, you cannot possibly measure—the responsibility of determining the issues of peace and war—no one who has not been in that position can realize the strength, the energy, the persistence with which we laboured for peace. We persevered by every expedient that diplomacy can suggest, straining to almost the breaking point our most cherished friendships and obligations, even to the last making effort upon effort and hoping against hope. Then, and only then, when we were at last compelled to realize that the choice lay between honour and dishonour, between treachery and good faith, and that we had at last reached the dividing line which makes or mars a nation worthy of the name, it was then, and then only, that we declared for war. [Cheers.] Is there any one in this hall or in this United Kingdom or in the vast Empire of which we here stand in the capital and centre who blames or repents our decision? [Shouts of "No."] If, as I believe, there is not, we must steel ourselves to the task, and in the spirit which animated our forefathers in their struggle against the domination of Napoleon we must and we shall persevere to the end. [Cheers.]

It would be a criminal mistake to under-estimate either the magnitude or fighting quality or the staying power of the

forces which are arrayed against us ; but it would be equally foolish and equally indefensible to belittle our own resources, whether for resistance or attack. Belgium has shown us—by a memorable and glorious example [cheers]—what can be done by a relatively small State when its citizens are animated and fired by the spirit of patriotism. In France and Russia we have as allies two of the greatest Powers in the world, engaged with us in a common cause, who do not mean to separate themselves from us any more than we mean to separate ourselves from them. [Cheers.] We have upon the seas the strongest and most magnificent Fleet which has ever been seen. The Expeditionary Force which left our shores less than a month ago has never been surpassed [cheers], as its glorious achievements in the field have already made clear [renewed cheers], not only in material equipment, but in the physical and moral quality of its constituent parts.

As regards the Navy, I am assured by my right hon. friend Mr. Churchill, whom we are glad to see here [cheers], that there is happily little more to be done. I do not flatter it when I say that its superiority is equally marked in every department and sphere of its activity. We rely upon it with the most absolute confidence, not only to guard our shores against the possibility of invasion, not only to seal up the gigantic battleships of the enemy in the inglorious seclusion of their own ports [laughter and cheers], whence from time to time he furtively steals forth to sow the sea with the murderous snares which are more full of menace to neutral shipping than to the British Fleet—our Navy does all this, and while it is thirsting, I do not doubt, for a trial of strength in a fair and open fight, which is so far prudently denied it, it does a great deal more. It has hunted the German mercantile marine from the high seas. [Cheers.] It has kept open our own sources of food supplies and largely curtailed those of the enemy ; and when the few German cruisers which still infest the more distant ocean routes have been disposed of, as they will be very soon [cheers], it will have achieved for British and neutral commerce, passing backwards and forwards from and to every part of our Empire, a security as complete as it has ever enjoyed in the days of unbroken peace. [Cheers.] Let us honour the memory of the gallant seamen who, in the pursuit of one or other of these varied and responsible duties, have already laid down their lives for their country. [Cheers.]

In regard to the Army, there is call for a new, a continuous,

and a determined and united effort, for as the war goes on we shall have not merely to replace the wastage caused by casualties, not merely to maintain our military power at its original level, we must, if we are to play a worthy part, enlarge its scale, increase its numbers, and multiply many times its effectiveness as a fighting instrument. The object of the appeal which I have made to you, my Lord Mayor, and the other chief magistrates of our capital cities, is to impress upon the people of the United Kingdom the imperious urgency of this supreme duty. Our self-governing Dominions throughout the Empire, without any solicitation on our part, demonstrated with a spontaneousness and unanimity unparalleled in history their determination to affirm their brotherhood with us and to make our cause their own. Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland, children of the Empire, assert, not as an obligation but as a privilege, their right and their willingness to contribute money and material, and, what is better than all, the strength and sinews, the fortunes and the lives of their best men.

India [cheers], with no less alacrity, has claimed her share in the common task. Every class and creed, British and native, princes and people, Hindus and Mohammedans, vie with one another in a noble and emulous rivalry. Two divisions of our magnificent Army are already on their way. [Cheers.] We welcome with appreciation and affection their proffered aid, and in an Empire which knows no distinction of race or caste, where all alike, as subjects of the King-Emperor, are joint and equal custodians of our common interests and fortunes, we here hail with profound and heartfelt gratitude their association, side by side and shoulder to shoulder with our home and Dominion troops, under the flag which is the symbol to all of a unity that the world in arms cannot dis sever or dissolve. [Cheers.] With these inspiring appeals and examples from our fellow-subjects all over the world, what are we doing and what ought we to do here at home? Mobilization was ordered on August 4. Immediately afterwards Lord Kitchener [cheers] issued his call for 100,000 recruits for the Regular Army. It has been followed by a second call for another 100,000. The response up till to-day gives us between 250,000 and 300,000 [cries of "Bravo" and cheers], and I am glad to say that London has done its share. The total number of Londoners accepted is not less than 42,000. [Cheers.]

I need hardly say that that appeal involves no disparage-

ment or discouragement to the Territorial Force. The number of units in that force who have volunteered for foreign service is most satisfactory, and grows every day.

We look to them with confidence to increase their numbers, to perfect their organization and training, and to play efficiently the part which has always been assigned to them, both offensive and defensive, in the military system of the Empire.

But to go back to the expansion of the Regular Army. We want more men—[cheers]—men of the best fighting quality, and if for a moment the number who offer and are accepted should prove to be in excess of those who can at once be adequately trained and equipped, do not let them doubt that prompt provision will be made for the incorporation of all willing and able men in the fighting forces of the King. [Cheers.] We want, first of all, men, and we shall endeavour to secure that men desiring to serve together shall, wherever possible, be allotted to the same regiment or corps. [Cheers.] The raising of battalions by counties and municipalities with this object will be in every way encouraged. But we want not less urgently a larger supply of ex-non-commissioned officers, and the pick of the men with whom in past days they have served, and therefore whom in most cases we shall be asking to give up regular employment and to return to the work of the State which they alone are competent to do. The appeal we make is addressed quite as much to their employers as to the men themselves. [Cheers.] The men ought surely to be assured of reinstatement to their positions at the end of the war.

And, finally, there are numbers of commissioned officers now in retirement who have had large experience in handling troops, who have served their country in the past. Let them come forward too, and show their willingness, if need be, to train bodies of men for whom for the moment no regular cadre or unit can be found.

Of the actual progress of the war I will say nothing except that in my judgment, in whatever direction we look, there is abundant ground for pride and comfort. [Cheers.] I say nothing more, because I think we should bear in mind, all of us, that we are at present watching the fluctuations of fortune only in the early stages of what is going to be a protracted struggle. We must learn to take long views and to cultivate above all other faculties those of patience, endurance, and steadfastness. Meanwhile, let us go, each of us, to do his or her appropriate part in the great common task. Never had

a people, as you have most truly said, my Lord Mayor, more or richer sources of encouragement and inspiration. Let us realize, first of all, that we are fighting as a united Empire in a cause worthy of the highest traditions of our race. [Cheers.] Let us keep in mind the patient and indomitable seamen who never relax for a moment, night or day, their stern vigil on the lonely seas. Let us keep in mind our gallant troops who, to-day, after a fortnight's continuous fighting under conditions which would try the mettle of the best army that ever took the field, maintain not only an undefeated, but an unbroken front. [Cheers.]

And, finally, let us recall the memories of the great men and the great deeds of the past, commemorated, some of them, as you have reminded us, in the monuments which we see around us on these walls, not forgetting the dying message of the younger Pitt, his last public utterance made at the table of your predecessor, my Lord Mayor, in this very hall:—"England has saved herself by her exertions and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." [Cheers.] England in those days gave a noble answer to his appeal, and did not sheathe the sword until, after nearly twenty years of fighting, the freedom of Europe was secured. Let us go and do likewise. [Cries of "Bravo" and cheers.]

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[Speech delivered at Harrow School, October 12, 1914, under the auspices of the Victoria League.]

I REGARD it as a great privilege to be permitted to come here and address the boys of this ancient and famous school. It is true that I happen myself to have been educated at another, but I hope not greatly inferior, institution. Of one thing, however, I am certain, that in the present crisis Eton will not be one whit behind Harrow, nor Harrow behind Eton, in the fight that we are waging for the honour of our country and the liberties of mankind.

The question may be asked why I or any one should be invited to come and address the boys of even the greatest of schools, who by virtue of their age and occupations are prevented, for the present at any rate, from taking an active part in the war. I cannot imagine any more fallacious reasoning than would be implied by such a remark. There is no place in England where it is more right and becoming that a healthy interest should be taken in the war than in places of education, and most of all in the great public schools, where the boys are being trained to be the men of the future. I look upon Harrow and Eton as being vitally interested in this war. The Head Master has told me that over 1,000 Harrovians are serving their country in a military capacity either inside or outside our shores. Already a dozen have given their lives. I hope that their names are inscribed on some roll of honour, either on the door of your chapel or on the gates of this great building. That they will be perpetuated in some lasting form I do not doubt. And there is not a boy here present who does not know that that dozen will be greatly increased before we come to the end of this war. Each one of them, in giving up his own life, has given something to the life of his country. Though his individual existence has been cut short, he has made his contribution to the glory of the race. Dead himself, he has become immortal in the rejuvenated life of his country. The

Head Master has also told me that of your masters six have already been taken, in one service or another, for the war, one of whom has been wounded. And in regard to the boys before me, as I might judge from your appearance and uniform, practically the whole school, except those who are disqualified for some good reason, have joined the Officers' Training Corps. Therefore it appears that you are already closely concerned in the war, whether you wish it or not. And I would like to say to anybody who may think that for some reason or other, by youth or otherwise, he is precluded from taking an active part, that he, too, has a duty to perform. It is to keep himself fit, and encourage others to do the same, to be cheerful about his work, and to maintain a high standard of courage, discipline and honour, and so to prepare himself for the ordeal when his turn shall come.

I have been asked to address you this evening about the war, and particularly about the circumstances in which it broke out. But I may state at once that I do not propose to say much about the origin of the war. So much has been written and circulated about it that there is probably not a single educated man, woman or boy, in this country at any rate, but is satisfied that we entered upon it with clean hands, and that we were compelled to do so by the dictates of what we value more than life itself. Not only are we satisfied as to this, but I believe the whole civilized world is fairly well satisfied also. In the month of July last no nation in the world was less anxious for war than England, and I might almost say less prepared for war. No Government less wished for war or was less likely to be drawn into war than the present advisers of the King. I gladly say this, though I belong to the opposite side in politics.

You may ask, then, how it came about. At the beginning people may have inquired why they should be fighting about a distant country like Servia. But no one thinks of that now. Servia had apologized for her offence, if indeed she had ever been guilty of it. She was ready to accept any humiliation short of the sacrifice of her national independence. No, it was not the murder of the Crown Prince of Austria that caused the war. It came about because there was one country in Europe bent on having war—the evidence is irresistible on that point. All had been pre-arranged—Russia was believed not to be ready, after her fight with Japan; England, with only a "contemptible little army," with a Liberal Ministry in power,

and with civil war impending in Ireland, was not likely to fight in any circumstances, still less to send an army abroad ; Serbia was exhausted by two recent campaigns ; France, in the opinion of Germany, had long been a decadent nation, doomed to destruction at the first impact of the German forces ; and as for little Belgium, she had merely to be threatened to give way. On the other hand, Germany, with her army augmented, and her navy at the highest pitch of proficiency, with artillery of a power that had never been dreamed of and was unknown to the foreigner, Germany was ready for the contest, and meant to have it. I have personal knowledge that among the leading statesmen in Europe were some who had foreseen and prophesied for years that in the autumn of 1914 Germany would strike. The whole of her internal preparations, the orders issued to her men in different parts of the world before war was declared, all show that it was in the summer of this year that the hour of destiny for Germany was expected to sound. It had even been predicted that Serbia would provide the excuse for the war to begin.

Then there came, as you know, the ultimatums to Russia and to France. But at this stage the German plan was thrown out of gear by the action first of Belgium and next of Great Britain. When Belgium, to her eternal credit, stood up against the great bully of Europe, what alternative had we but to come in ? Is it conceivable that with our name affixed to the Treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, and with the part that this country has played in the emancipation of the smaller nations, we should have taken any other course ? I agree with the Prime Minister that had we done so our face would have been blackened before Europe. Even had we preserved peace it could only have been a passing peace, and eventually we should have had to face the world with not a friend in it to stand at our side.

I hope, too, that every boy here realizes that the blow which was aimed at our national honour was aimed also at our national existence. If by any chance Germany were to win, if the victory achieved at Antwerp is successfully followed up, and if conquered Belgium is to be made the base for an attack upon England, then our very life will be threatened and our position as a Great Power will be at stake. Thus we are fighting—make no mistake about it—not only for our honour but also for our life.

This is what we are fighting for. But it is equally important

to know what we are fighting against. We are not merely fighting the German Emperor, or the German Army, or the German people, united and indistinguishable in the present campaign as I believe all these to be. We are fighting the spirit that is behind the Emperor, the Army and the people. Believe me, if you are to understand the German action, you must understand the German mind. The psychology of the war is as important as its progress. The curious thing is—we know it now—that it is all in writing, written and published far and wide by German philosophers, generals and statesmen, written so that all who run may read. There is General Bernhardi's book, and there is the book by Count von Bülow. I would advise any Harrow boy who has a florin to spare to invest it in Bernhardi. Before another edition is called for it may have to be considerably rewritten! So you should buy it and read it while you can. You will hardly believe, if you do not know, what is the nature of the doctrine that has been instilled into the minds of the German people during the last ten or twenty years. Let me tell you.

In the first place, they teach that war, which we in England are so old-fashioned as to regard as a shocking calamity, and in some cases as a terrible crime, is a great and noble thing, the source of all moral good in the universe, the supreme factor in human improvement, and in the struggle towards perfection. It is the anvil upon which all nations, and pre-eminently the Prussian people and the German Empire, are welded into higher forms. I will not pause to discuss the horrible and perverted casuistry that underlies this reasoning. I merely state it as a fact, which we have to take into account.

This being the German conception of war, it is not surprising to learn in these books that the right method to wage it is to assume the aggressive, to have no scruples, but to take your opponent at a disadvantage if you can. The saying of Frederick the Great is accepted with enthusiasm that "he is a fool, and that nation is a fool, who, having power to strike his enemy unawares, does not strike and strike his deadliest." Accordingly no engagements need be kept—on the contrary, it may be a sacred duty to violate them—and honour or fidelity to your pledged word is blotted out of the code of nations. Does not this explain, perhaps better than anything else, that little remark about the "scrap of paper," which will be for ever immortal in the history of mankind?

The next proposition is that war cannot be expected to

be humane. It is bound to be brutal and bloody, and the more brutal it is the speedier will be the end. Barbarities must be committed in order to strike terror into the invaded territories. In fact, massacres, murders, mutilation, arson and pillage—all the nameless horrors of which we have read but which I will not recapitulate—become the necessary and honourable instruments of war.

These are the general theories that underlie the German philosophy of war. Let us now see how they are to be translated into action.

Germany, we are asked to believe, has a great historical mission to be the World-Power of the future. We, the British, with some pardonable vanity, but not, I hope, with indecent pride, have been apt to congratulate ourselves on being such a Power. That is a distinction which Germany conceives to be reserved for herself. The part that was filled by Rome in the ancient world, and for a short period in the Middle Ages by Islam, belongs henceforward to Germany, and it is for the Hohenzollern dynasty on earth, and the Almighty on high—because they work, according to the German theory, in active and constant co-operation—to consummate this divine destiny. Theirs it is to impose German culture, German civilization, and German morality upon a humbled world. Thus will they attain to the spiritual and material dominion of the universe. I say spiritual as well as material because, though we should not be surprised, in view of what has happened, if the German professors were to preach the gospel of secular domination or physical force, it is the spiritual and moral aspect of the gift which they are empowered to bestow that excites their warmest outbursts of self-satisfaction. Now let us see where we come in. I have often propounded the view that the British Empire is an organization, due partly to accident, partly to opportunity, but partly also to the qualities and virtues of our race, which has been charged, as we believe, by a Higher Power, with a mission to mankind, and that mission, I have contended, has been carried out, on the whole, with no small measure of justice, righteousness, and success. But apparently I was all wrong. For I take up these German books and I learn that England is the arch-enemy of humanity. She is the pirate State who has seized one-fifth of the universe by robbery, and only holds it by hypocrisy and fraud; while as regards our own people, they are so decadent, so sunk in sloth and selfishness as hardly to be worthy of consideration. In these circumstances it is

the duty and high calling of Germany to step forward and strike us down.

Further, the methods by which this operation is to be carried out are clearly defined. Russia need not necessarily be subdued; she must be isolated, for her real interests lie elsewhere, and her face should be turned towards the East. Belgium, Holland and Denmark must be captured or cowed; France is to be crushed. These are the preliminary steps, and when they have been accomplished the final blow is to be levelled at the head of the arch-enemy—namely, ourselves. These are the teachings of the German books. But even if we had never read or studied them, we might have been warned by events. Look at the history of Prussia during the last fifty years. She began by robbing Denmark of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, she smashed Austria in 1866, she fought France in 1870, and filched from her Alsace and Lorraine. Ever since she has been the restless world-intriguer, bullying the weak and seeking to cajole the strong. The telegram to Kruger, the “mailed fist” in China, the visit of the Emperor to Tangier, the “shining armour” in Bosnia, the “Panther” at Agadir—all of these have been links in the chain, direct steps to the finale which we are now witnessing.

Meanwhile we have gone on in our innocence offering to the Germans “naval holidays,” “reduction of armaments,” and so forth. But to them we are not so stupid as we are perfidious. They take our overtures as a proof not so much of our folly as of our duplicity. In their eyes we are merely the successful burglar who has retired from business, glutted with spoil, and who, in the evening of his days, seeks the protection of the police.

A few of our countrymen have had their eyes opened to the truth, and have preached it to deaf ears. Let us honour them for having done it. Let us honour Lord Roberts in particular, and let us see to it that his warnings are not again thrown away. There is nothing of which I am more proud than this, that during the past five years, although it is not thought wise for a politician to associate himself too closely with the movement for compulsory military training in this country, I have never hesitated in Parliament or out of Parliament to stand by Lord Roberts's side and preach his creed. Had it been accepted, I am convinced that this war would not have taken its present shape. Had the British possessed the forces to throw into the field at the outbreak of hostilities, Belgium

might have been spared half her suffering. Had our recruits been trained already, we should not have to wait till next spring before they will be prepared. I hope I am not unduly intruding upon politics if I say that when this war is over, and if I am spared, no effort of mine will be wanting to make my countrymen, as they have had to pay the price of neglect, pay the price also to obtain the security which it will be necessary for us ever afterwards to maintain. But Lord Roberts has not been the only one ; there have been a few others equally prescient in their utterances—Mr. Frederic Harrison, an old Radical, but a man of great intelligence and indomitable courage ; Mr. Hyndman, a Socialist of whom I have never previously spoken one admiring word ; Mr. Robert Blatchford, and others—all honour to these men who foretold the danger, though they could not persuade their countrymen to listen.

And now I turn to the practical application of the German theories in the present war. What has happened in Belgium is only the logical outcome. Consider the case of Belgium—a small country, inhabited before the war broke out by a peaceful and industrious people, only $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions in number—the same population as is included in the Metropolitan Police District of London—and ruled by a patriotic and constitutional King. They were protected by treaty from fear of invasion ; they cherished no military ambitions ; they were innocent of offence, the friends of all, and the enemies of none. Suddenly, on August 2 last, they were confronted with the ultimatum from Germany which compelled them to decide. You remember the lines of the American poet :—

Once to every man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side.

Belgium made her choice. All alone, unaided, without allies to help her in the field, she threw herself across the path of the tyrant. She might so easily have yielded and have saved her territory, her treasures and her homes. No one could fairly have blamed her for the surrender. But no, she loved liberty more ; she preferred death to slavery, she would not yield to brute force. And what has been her fate ? I remember that on Speech Days at Eton the boys would sometimes declaim the famous passage in Burke's speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, in which that great orator drew the tears of his audience at Westminster by the passage in which

he described the descent of Hyder Ali upon the Carnatic, bursting like a thunder-cloud of destruction upon that unhappy land. I daresay it has sometimes been recited in this hall. But the invasion of Hyder Ali was nothing to the invasion of the Emperor William. A country devastated, its towns sacked, its cathedrals and universities destroyed, its people slaughtered like sheep or driven into exile, its national life extinguished—I say deliberately that this is the greatest crime in history. Supposing that all the atrocities we hear of are false, and that the Germans have been guilty of none of these deeds—though the evidence against them appears to be overwhelming—I should still say that Germany, in invading Belgium, whose freedom she had guaranteed by a signed treaty, had committed the greatest crime in history. And when the German Emperor makes his daily appeal to the Almighty, one really wonders what the Divine Power can think of His self-constituted ally. In civilized countries we award the penalty of death to him who takes innocent life. What is to be the punishment of one who destroys a nation, who has taken the life not of tens of thousands, but of hundreds of thousands? I can imagine no retribution too great for such a crime, and whatever punishment may befall the criminal at the hands of man or of One greater than man, of this I am certain, that the execration of all ages will for ever be attached to that man, and that his name will go down to history as William the Bloodstained, William the Assassin.

But you may say, Was it worth while for little Belgium to make the stand, and to suffer the consequences? I hope there is no one in this room who has the slightest doubt as to the answer. Oh, yes! it was worth while; a million times was it worth while for her to do as she did. For her the path of suffering has also been the path of glory. She stands forth as a light and beacon to the world for all time. And though the crown of thorns has been pressed down by her own hand upon her temples, a halo of imperishable glory will always surround her brow.

As to our duty to Belgium. I am glad that our men were in at Antwerp at the end. Although they were too few and too late to turn the scale, I rejoice that we made the effort. And now it is for us to bind up her wounds, to care for her after her great sufferings, to receive her exiles pouring by the thousand into this country, to recover her cities, to restore her treasures of art, and to give her a start once more in the

world. All of these are obligations on us, just as binding as to defend our own honour or to fight for our own national existence.

I go further, and say that with the fall of Antwerp the obligation is even stronger than it has been at any time before. We see a good deal in the papers about the Germans having bombarded and taken Antwerp in order to cover their own line of retreat from Belgium. I believe it to be much more than that. I regard it as a deliberate movement with reference to this country. Germany has taken Antwerp to keep it, to fortify, and turn it into a naval port, which she may use as a jumping-off place for future attacks upon us. You may say that it is merely a temporary occupation which she will presently relinquish. In my view she means to retain her grip upon it, if she can, and to make herself master of the surrounding country. She will compel Holland to obey her will, even if she does not destroy her independence. She will push down the coast to Dunkirk and Calais, and then, unless we can stop it, the great campaign for the destruction of England will begin.

I want you therefore to realize that we are not in for any light or soon-to-be-terminated war. I am shocked when I hear people talking airily about the war being over by Christmas, and of our soldiers being welcomed back to their homes. In my judgment more than one Christmas will pass before this war is over. We are fighting an enemy of desperate courage, of great tenacity, of overwhelming forces, with a power, especially in artillery, greater than anything dreamed of in the world before, and imbued with a national spirit quite as keen as our own. The whole German people seem to be inoculated with the poison which has been poured into their veins by the German philosophers. We in this country must not flatter ourselves that there will be division between the German Emperor and the German people, or between the war party and the peace party. Germany is united, and we must realize that we have to fight the whole nation. Then look at the task that lies before us. We have first to turn the Germans out of France, an operation we have been engaged upon for some weeks, not without success. And when we have done that we have to turn them out of Belgium. We have to recapture the great cities of Brussels, Antwerp, etc. ; and then, when we have done that, we have to force the Rhine, and, step by step, to make our way to Berlin. Finally, we have to punish the enemy for his crime, to extirpate the curse of a false mili-

tarism that overhangs the Continent like a cloud, and to build up a new Europe that shall once again be free.

Thank God, we have certain advantages on our side. We are fighting under conditions more favourable than we had any right to expect. Our Navy is intact; we have loyal, valiant and capable allies. The spirit of our country is sound, and the courage of our soldiers incontestable. When the Kaiser issued his famous proclamation about the "contemptible little army" of Sir John French, which the Germans were so easily to "walk over," I was reminded of an anecdote that was told at Balliol in my time. The Master of the College before Jowett was Dr. Jenkins, who also had a reputation for quiet humour and incisive speech. One day an undergraduate who had been guilty of some offence was sent for by the Master to be rebuked. On leaving the house, he met a friend outside, who asked him what had happened. "Oh," he said, "that little ugly devil has given me the usual rowing." Just at that moment a dulcet voice was heard to murmur from the open window above: "Little I am, ugly I may be, devil I am not." May not the British Army, in the same way, retort to the Kaiser: "An army we are, little we may be, contemptible we are not!" But we have not our own spirit or our army only to count upon. The whole Empire is for us; it has rallied to our defence. You may defeat the British Army, but you cannot defeat the British Empire. And the British Empire has behind it in this war the sympathy of the civilized world.

In conclusion, may I give you some words of advice? I shall not tell you what to do, because you know it as well as I. I will tell you what not to do. When I went out to India as Viceroy an English paper published a long series of "Don'ts" for my edification. I put it in my pocket, and from time to time I would take it out in India and see how I was obeying my secret instructions. I will give you twelve similar "Don'ts" to-night:—

1. Don't think that the war does not affect you individually; it touches every one of us; it touches every man, woman and child in this country.
2. Don't be overjoyed at victory; don't be downhearted at defeat.
3. Don't be unnerved by personal or family bereavements.
4. Don't be frightened at the casualty list, so long and sometimes so distressing, that you see in the newspapers.
5. Don't think that you know how to wage the campaign

and that the War Office or Admiralty does not ; accordingly, don't write to the papers telling the Generals and Admirals what they ought to do ; but if you have an opinion that you could do it much better, keep that opinion for your own fire-side, and tell it to as few people as possible.

6. Don't get nervous because the progress of the war is slow ; it can only be slow in these stages.

7. Don't believe all you read in the newspapers, particularly when it comes from Berlin.

8. Don't underrate the enemy.

9. Don't waste breath in attempting to ascertain what is to happen to the German Emperor in this world or the next. We will endeavour to dispose of him in this world, and we will leave his ulterior destiny to others.

10. Don't begin to divide the German Empire before you have got hold of it.

11. Don't listen to any one who cries " Halt " before we have carried out the full purpose for which we are fighting.

12. When the war is over don't throw away its lessons.

In connection with my eleventh piece of advice let me add this. As I drove out from London just now I saw a placard announcing that a famous divine will preach next Sunday on " The Terms of Peace." I am afraid that divine is going to waste his labours. I, at any rate, shall not be in his church to listen to his advice. It will be time to discuss terms of peace when peace can be obtained with honour ; but it is premature, it is impertinent, even in the pulpit, to talk about terms of peace now.

And now, how am I to end in a manner appropriate to this audience ? I suppose that I ought to give you a quotation in a language which you will all understand—I need hardly say that I refer to Greek ! Perhaps, however, for my own sake, you will allow me to translate it into a tongue with which I am now more familiar, and to repeat to you in English what Demosthenes said on a similar occasion to his fellow citizens in Athens, when his country was threatened by a like danger to ours :—

" Yet, O Athenians, yet is there time ! And there is one manner in which you can recover your greatness, or, dying, fall worthy of your past at Marathon and Salamis. Yet, O Athenians, you have it in your power ; and the manner of it is this. Cease to hire your armies. Go yourselves, every man of you, and stand in the ranks ; and either a victory beyond all victories in its glory awaits you or, falling, you shall fall greatly and worthy of your past ! "

RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW

[Speech at a great patriotic meeting of the Citizens of London held in the Guildhall on September 4, 1914. The Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Opposition, were the principal speakers.]

MY LORD MAYOR:—It would indeed be impossible for me to add anything to the force of the appeal which has just been addressed by the Prime Minister to our people, but I am glad to be here as representing one of our great political parties in order to show clearly that in this supreme struggle, in everything connected with it until it is brought to a triumphant close [cheers], the head of our Government must speak, not as the leader of a party, but as the mouthpiece of the nation. [Cheers.] We are a peace-loving people [cheers], but never, I believe, in our history has the whole nation been so convinced as it is to-day that the cause for which we are fighting is righteous and just. We strove for peace by all means to the last moment, but when, in spite of our efforts, war came we could not stand aside. The honour and the interest of Great Britain—and, believe me, they go together—alike forbade it. It was inevitable that we must be drawn into this world-struggle, and the only question was whether we should enter it honourably or be dragged into it with dishonour. [Cheers.]

This war is a great crime, one of the greatest in history, but it is a crime in which, as a nation, we have no share. Now, as always for nearly a generation, the key of peace or war was in Berlin. The head of the German Government had but to whisper the word "peace" and there would have been no war. He did not speak that word; he has drawn the sword, and may the accursed system for which he stands perish by the sword. [Loud cheers.] War has come. We are fight-

ing as truly as Belgium or France, where the tide of battle with all its horrors is rolling on, for our life. As Cromwell said to his Ironsides, we can say to-day with equal truth, "We know what we are fighting for, and we love what we know." [Cheers.] We are fighting for our national existence, for everything which nations have always held most dear.

But we are fighting for something more. We are fighting for the moral forces of humanity. We are fighting for the respect for public law and for the right of public justice, which are the foundations of civilization. We are fighting, as the Prime Minister said, for right against might. [Cheers.] I do not attempt what Burke has declared to be impossible—to draw an indictment against a whole people; but this I say, that the German nation has allowed itself to be organized as a military machine which recognizes no law except the law of force, which knows no right except the right of the strongest. It is against that we are fighting to-day.

The spirit in which this war was entered into was shown clearly in the words which were addressed to our Ambassador at Berlin by the German Chancellor. "You are going to war," he said, "for a scrap of paper." A scrap of paper, yes, but a scrap of paper with which was bound up a solemn obligation, and with that obligation the honour of a great nation. [Cheers.] A scrap of paper in which was involved also the right to independence and liberty, the right even to existence, of all the small nations of the world. It is for that scrap of paper that Belgian soldiers have fought and died, that the Belgian people, by what they have done and what they have endured, have won for themselves immortal fame. [Cheers.] It is for that scrap of paper and all that it means that we too have already watered with the blood of our sons the fair fields of France, and for it we shall conquer or perish. [Cheers.]

The words which I have quoted show not merely the spirit in which the war was entered into, but the spirit in which it is being conducted to-day. When reports first reached us of German atrocities in Belgium I hoped, for the sake of our common humanity, that they were untrue or at least exaggerated. We can entertain that hope no longer. The destruction of Louvain, to which the Prime Minister has referred, has proclaimed to the world in trumpet tones what German methods are. It has fixed upon German honour an indelible stain, and the explanations which it has been attempted to give of it have only made that stain the deeper. War at the best is

terrible. It is not from the ordinary soldier, it is not from below that restraint can be expected. It must come, if it comes at all, from above. But here outrages come not from below, but from above. They are not the result of accident, but of design. They are part of a principle—the principle by any means, at any expense to the lives of defenceless men or of helpless women and children, to spread terror in a country and facilitate German arms. [Cheers.] This is, as the Prime Minister said, a moral and spiritual conflict, and believe me, in the long run, the moral and spiritual are stronger than the material forces.

The object of this meeting and of the speech to which we have just listened is to appeal to the manhood of our country to rally once again around the old flag. That appeal will not be made, is not being made, in vain. [Cheers.] Our people had only to realize, as at first they did not quite realize, what issues were at stake, to come forward with all the spirit of their fathers. That lesson is being driven home now by influences stronger far than any speeches. It has been taught by the heroic steadfastness of the Belgian people. It is being taught now by the knowledge that but for the sure shield of our Navy, a shield which, if we fail to conquer, cannot save us, our fate to-day would be the fate of Belgium. It is being taught above all by the accounts, meagre though they are, of what has been done by our soldiers on the fields of battle. [Cheers.]

With that mistaken estimate of themselves and of others, which is one of the explanations of this war, the Germans before and after this outbreak have spoken of us as a decadent nation. Do they say that to-day? [Cries of "No."] Let the long-drawn-out fight which began at Mons give the answer. [Cheers.] There our troops, pitted against the choicest troops of the German Army, and outnumbered by nearly three to one, as I believe, were undefeated and unbroken. [Cheers.] And when the story of that fight comes to be written, it is my belief that it will form as glorious a page as is to be found in the whole annals of our history. [Cheers.] The men will come. [Cheers.] There is no doubt about that. Everywhere I find the same spirit; every one asking, "What can I do to help my country?" Many of those whom I am addressing are, like the Prime Minister and myself, unable to take their places in the fighting line. It is not right, it is not fair, that we should make an appeal for sacrifice to the patriotism of those only who are able and willing to fight our battles. An

equal sacrifice is demanded of those who remain behind, and let us not as a Government merely, but as a nation, realize our obligation and let us make a vow and keep it that no dependent of any man who is fighting our battles shall go hungry while we have bread to eat. [Cheers.] Let us realize, also, as we have not always realized in the past, that our soldiers are children of the State, and that they have the first claim upon the resources of our nation. [Cheers.]

RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR

[Speech at a great Mass meeting, held in Colston Hall, Bristol, December 12, 1914, in support of the War Office appeal for 3,000 more men.]

MY LORD MAYOR :—This is not the first time that I have addressed a Bristol audience. Nor is it the first time I have spoken in this hall. But when I appeared last before you it was as speaking for a party—a party in which I believe, and of which I am still as ardent a member as ever. [Cheers.] But now my friend, Mr. Brace, and I, feeling that all smaller questions must be brushed into oblivion, have come here to make an appeal to you upon the greatest of all national causes. If, say, fifteen or twenty years ago any man had prophesied that within the lifetime of those whom he was addressing a war would spring up, in which one great community in America, the whole of Australasia, by far the greater part of Africa, by far the greater part of Asia, and by far the greater part of Europe should simultaneously be engaged, I think that prophecy would have been looked on as the nightmare of a madman. [Hear, hear.]

It has come about. And if the prophet who made this forecast had been asked, How can these things be in modern civilization, with the telegraph, the railway, all the modern contrivances for conquering nature multiplying day by day ?—how would he have felt if he had been told it was by these very inventions, from this very progress in knowledge, science, and civilization, it had been possible to marshal together these hosts of a magnitude of which history gives us no parallel or record, and to bring them up against one another for mutual slaughter ?

And if again he had been asked if such a war is to be will it not at all events be waged in circumstances of a growing humanitarianism ; will it not be waged under new conditions, where at all events the non-combatants would be saved from all needless suffering ; and if the seer had proclaimed in answer



RT. HON. A. J. BALFOUR
(LATE LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY)

that not only would the economic waste be of unparalleled magnitude, running already into billions; not only would the loss of life reach absolutely inconceivable proportions—running already after these few months of the war into millions—but the sufferings of the non-combatants in those countries where German arms have met with success could scarcely be equalled in the history of Europe, surely we should have asked in, how, or to what is civilization, to what is morality, to what is Christianity coming, if these things can be? [Cheers.]

Now, do not suppose that a catastrophe of this magnitude has not got its causes deeply rooted in some historic past. It is not the accident of a day. It is not due to a dispatch having been answered or not at a particular time. It is not due to this diplomatic error or to that. It is due, believe me, to causes far deeper, causes which have gradually, and by an almost inevitable destiny led up to the terrible tragedy which we now see before us. What are those causes? It is quite true to say that we are at war because treaty obligations and national honour [cheers] require us to defend a nation whose neutrality we were bound to support [cheers] against another nation equally bound to support it, but which had nevertheless violated it with every circumstance of military horror and abomination. ["Shame."] But the tragedy of Servia and the tragedy of Belgium are but two episodes in a still greater tragedy; and the crimes that have been committed in Flanders and in the North of France are but two episodes in a yet greater crime against civilization and progress.

Germany's great error, and as I think, her great misfortune, is that she was not content to be on the Continent of Europe first among equals. A distinguished German writer has said that a great nation [he was speaking of Germany] must be everything or nothing [laughter]. Well, I don't want Germany to be nothing. But rather than that Germany should be everything, there is not a man of us who ought not to lay down his life gladly [cheers]; and she never will be everything while there is one cartridge left to fire, and one stout heart left to fire it.

There is a fantastic conception—made in Germany [laughter]—of what is called the super-man; a monster of aggressive egotism, to whom such virtues as humility and kindness are virtues fit only for slaves. I think, myself, that this conception of the super-man is slightly ludicrous. If

ever he should materialize—is that the phrase? [laughter] I think he might well be left to the police. [Laughter.] But while the super-man is simply absurd the super-state is dangerous. It is the ideal of the super-state which has brought civilization to the peril in which it now stands, and it is this ideal which we have got to crush. [Hear, hear.]

There are persons so ignorant of history and of human nature that they think it matters little what ideals of conduct men and nations entertain. Believe me it is all important. And if the world is now at war it is because the Germans have mistaken the true ideal of national greatness, because they are trying by the most brutal methods to force themselves into a position absolutely inconsistent with the very notion of a great community of independent nations. After all, the world is made up of nations. It never will be one nation. I don't think it is desirable that it should ever be one nation. [Hear, hear.] But if it is to be made up, as it is now, always has been, and always will be, of many nations, is it not absolutely imperative that those who love civilization should gradually come to an understanding as to how international relations should be conducted? [Cheers.] Are we, while we talk of civilization within the nation, going to press forward ideals of barbarism between nations? ["No."] Are the powerful always going to trample on the weak? ["No."] Is the fate of the small nations, as the author I have already quoted said, always to be miserable? ["No."] To me, and I believe to all men of English speech, wherever they may live, it seems that the future of our race—the international future of our race—lies in, so far as possible, spreading wide the grip and power of international law, of raising more and more dignity of treaties between States [cheers], more and more striving that controversies between States should be decided not by the sword, but by arbitration. [Cheers.] That is the ideal which we hold. That is the ideal which we wish to see grow in all parts of the world. That is the ideal which, with every mark of contumely, contempt, and derision, the Germans trample under foot, both in theory and in practice. [Cheers.]

You will gather from what I have said that to my thinking the struggle on which we are engaged is more than national; the whole international future of the world is hanging in the balance. If victory should go to those the law of whose being seems to be to grasp domination irrespective of scruples, and by all means—if that should be

the unhappy fate of the world, then, indeed, we might look forward with gloomy prognostications to the International future of civilization, with the very doubtful comfort of having German "culture" rammed down our throats by German bayonets whether we liked it or not. Well, what is your duty in circumstances such as I have described? ["To fight," and cheers.]

I have always loved the young, and I have always believed in them, but I have never envied them till to-day. They can do what, alas! I can no longer hope to do—they can strike a blow themselves for the greatest of all causes in the greatest of all known wars. [Cheers.] Let them not undervalue the greatness of their own destiny. Rarely has it happened in the history of mankind that a man could say to himself: "I am now going to take my part in the front row of combatants in a cause on which the fate of my country, and not merely the fate of my country, but the fate of civilization as a whole may truly be said to depend." Rarely has that opportunity been given to any country or to the young men of any country in the past history of the world. That opportunity is now given to you. [Cheers.]

The Lord Mayor, in his opening remarks, has told you that Bristol has not shown itself oblivious to the great duties thrown upon it, and that it has already responded to the patriotic call to arms made in the interests I have endeavoured to describe. You have done much, but you have not yet done enough [cheers], and I know that the appeal, which however feebly I have made to you, finds an echo in your own hearts—that you know, no less well than I know, how much depends upon every man in this great national emergency sinking all manner of petty considerations, and throwing himself whole-heartedly into the great struggle. You know as well as I do how pressing is that call. You will obey it. You will follow your own sense of right and patriotism, and for my own part I do not doubt for one instant that the result of this meeting, as the result of countless other meetings not less magnificent than this held in other parts of the country, will be that Britain will show an example to the world—a unique example to the world, worthy of a unique occasion, and will show that without compulsion [cheers] and from the mere sense of public duty and public patriotism she will flock to the national standard and take her full share in the great struggle now being carried on on the Continent of Europe. [Loud cheers.]

What is that crime? It is the crime of a nation which has resolved not merely to be great, to be powerful, to be prosperous, but a nation which says, "All these things are valueless to me unless I can also dominate and coerce the whole civilized world." [Hear, hear.]

That is the root difficulty which we have got to face. That is a circumstance which can never be forgotten, either by those who take part in this war, or by those who will have something to say of the settlement after this war is concluded. [Cheers.] My public life does not go quite back to the Franco-German war of 1870, though my memory does, and I well remember the general feeling in this country towards the growth of the German Empire. The Germans themselves—or, at any rate, the writings of those Germans I happen to be acquainted with—always talk as if Germany had been the perpetual subject of irritable envy to the people of this country. Nothing can be more false. [Cheers.] I believed, and I was not alone in believing up till, let us say, certainly twenty years ago and less—I was not alone in believing that Germany, sated with glory, absolutely secure in her strength, her wealth, and her population, growing day by day with almost unparalleled rapidity, would have felt that her ideal would have been that of the great, peaceful, cultivated nation, strong enough to preserve her own honour and her own rights, anxious for the liberty of all other nations, and a determined ally of peace. That has not been the course of German thought. Germany's ideas have not progressed, have not developed, upon those lines. Unhappily for herself, unhappily for mankind, she has apparently felt that it is not enough to be great, honoured, wealthy, and secure, but that any nation worthy of the name, having domination within its grasp, ought, by all means, fair and foul alike, to pursue domination until it is secured.

Now I think that is one of the greatest, if not the greatest tragedy of history. It almost looks as if the war of 1870 and the unexampled outburst of prosperity which succeeded it turned the heads of a great nation and polluted the consciences of a mighty people. They speak of themselves, of their culture, of their valour, and of their greatness in terms which I should have thought any one with a sense of humour [cheers] would not have for an instant thought of describing their own performances. I have seen, not in the reckless literature of the German press, but in the writings of quite able and apparently quite sober German statesmen and thinkers, views

of German culture, expressions which I should think were incredible to any people with a sense of the measure in the language they use.

Our Allies the French, with all their great history behind them have not always been supposed by unfriendly critics to hide their light under a bushel. There was a time when French culture—to use a word which is now in fashion—reigned supreme on the continent of Europe—from the Bay of Biscay to the Ural Mountains—when every small German thought he could do nothing better than imitate to the best of his ability the manners and the work of Versailles. The greatest of Prussian monarchs, while he was winning victories from French troops in the field, looked—and looked solely—to French criticisms and to French art as the measure of any culture he aspired to possess. Had the French in those days talked as the Germans talk now we should have accused them of gross exaggeration. But assuredly they had reason to describe triumphs of French culture in language far stronger than any which sober criticism would now apply to Germany. [Cheers.]

Do not suppose that I now underrate what Germany has done in the past, or that I entertain doubts of what Germany may do in the future for the general progress of the human race. Most gladly do I grant that at least in one art and in many sciences the work of Germany has been epoch-making. But while I make this acknowledgment fully and freely, I must add that nothing in her history justifies that amazing tone of arrogant self-laudation she has adopted for herself, or the equally arrogant contempt which she showers upon less fortunate nations. [Hear, hear.]

RT. HON. SIR JOHN SIMON

[Speech of the Solicitor-General at a great recruiting meeting held in the Victoria Hall, Bolton, Lancashire, on December 8, 1914.]

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN:—A meeting like this great gathering would not be possible if we did not all realize that we were meeting in a good and necessary cause. This war is none of our choosing; it has been forced upon us as certainly as any war has ever been forced on a peaceful people, because there was no choice except taking part in it or exposing ourselves to undying shame. [Cheers.] This war, I say with certain confidence, has been forced upon us, and it is in that spirit we are determined to see it through. [Cheers.] There is one cause—I am not so sure I am not such a friend of peace that I do not think it is the only cause—in which the people of this country ought to take an active part in a European war, and it is when they are compelled to keep their pledged word to a small community which has been most wantonly attacked, in breach of the most solemn promise, by a powerful and a remorseless neighbour. [Cheers.]

It is that cause which has produced a consequence which twelve months ago none of us who stand on this platform to-night would have conceived possible—namely, that we should all be here endeavouring to assert the same thing. Our conviction is that if Britain had stood aside when that appeal was made to us by the people of Belgium we should have been as false to our word as Germany has been false to her word, and we should have been in the future as clearly condemned by the civilized world as Germany is by the whole civilized world to-day.

And is it not a wonderful thing that with all their spying the Germans never found it out? [Laughter.] That is the worst of spying—you always discover the wrong thing. [Laughter.] The Germans were perfectly satisfied that if we were involved in some domestic confusion allegiances would



RT. HON. SIR JOHN SIMON
(ATTORNEY-GENERAL)

be broken and treachery would arise in different parts of our scattered Empire. And the only little damp squib that could be found to go off in any part of the Empire has been very effectually squelched by the very man (Gen. Botha) who not long ago was commanding Dutchmen who were fighting the British Crown and who, within the last twenty-four hours, has received the almost unparalleled compliment of having one of His Majesty's ships of war named by his name. [Cheers.]

It surely required no great degree of cleverness, it did not need such a great deal of culture, to realize that if we allowed ourselves to stand by while this bully was putting his hands upon Belgium, then our position in Europe as a civilizing force, as a defender of right against might, was gone for ever. But that is what happens to eavesdroppers; the man that spends his life with his eye to the keyhole gets nothing by it except an inflamed eye. [Laughter.]

Here in Lancashire, with its factories, mills, and busy workshops, you have the fullest right to say that Lancashire is playing its part.

Not that there is not a further part for other Lancashire men to play, and an opportunity of entering into a priceless tradition and of making themselves comrades of some of the bravest and most gallant soldiers who ever wore the King's uniform. There is a Press Censorship which unavoidably withdraws from us, for the time at least, much that we would be glad to know. Modern war is fought in the sort of atmosphere which you meet with occasionally in the streets of Manchester in the month of December, but the thickest fog that Manchester ever laboured under could not prevent the gallantry of Lancashire regiments reaching Lancashire homes. [Cheers.] Will you allow me to deal with two criticisms often made of the Press Censorship?

In the first place it is apparently supposed in some quarters that when the publication of a particular piece of news is delayed or denied, as it has been from time to time, it is done for fear of the effect of such publication on the British people. The theory seems to be that the British people would be unduly elated by news of success and dangerously dejected by news of misfortune. That is a ridiculous misunderstanding. If we had nothing to think of but the stimulating of recruiting in this war I have no doubt that we should publish every single bit of bad news that ever came this way, and minimize every bit of good news, and carefully arrange to drop a bomb

on Bolton once a week. [Laughter.] We British people receive news whether it be good or bad with composure and moderation. A message of success will not distract us from steadily pursuing the task before us; the report of a loss will only make us more determined to regain the lost ground, and to make our ultimate triumph doubly sure. But that is known to everybody, and it is perfectly well understood by those who are in control of the Press Censor. I come here to say that the one and only reason why any news is ever withdrawn from circulation is because its publication might injure us or help the enemy. The enemy may be assisted by news of our plans, of our movements, or of the numbers, position, or condition of our forces. Let me give you two examples. It was by a bold use of the Press Censorship that the British Expeditionary Force—the best-equipped body of men that ever represented any country in Europe—[cheers]—crossed the seas and took up their place in the firing-line without ever running the slightest risk of being attacked on the way. And if you go a little later it was by a bold use of the Press Censorship that General Sir John French—[cheers]—was able to move the British forces from somewhere in the centre of the Allies' line right round to the left, in order to resist the German advance upon Calais. When the history of these things comes to be written, the absolute necessity of such a censorship will become apparent to everybody.

That is the first mistake made about the censorship.

The second mistake is even further removed from the true facts. It seems to be imagined that when the order goes forth that for reasons of national policy and military strategy certain information is to be withheld it is the Press Censor who decides the matter at his own whim and pleasure. The Press Censor, besides being a fellow-Minister, happens to be in a very special degree a colleague of mine, and I wish he could come back and help me with my job. But to think that it is Sir Stanley Buckmaster who decides which piece of news ought to be published and which ought not is an obvious absurdity. The moment people understand that the only reason why you don't publish a particular piece of news is because of military and naval reasons, it follows that it is not the Press Censor but the military and naval authorities who have to judge whether news is to be published or not.

I do not know what you think, but I think a little honest criticism is good for everybody, and I am sure the naval and

military authorities do not object to having a little healthful, invigorating criticism, so long as it is fair and honest. But surely those who criticize ought to remember that in times of war these difficult questions must be decided by those who have the best means of forming a judgment. The responsibility is theirs, and they must answer for what they do. Do you think it likely that Lord Kitchener—[cheers]—who is not the Minister of a party but the Minister of a nation, and who has as great an interest as any one in encouraging recruiting, would allow a single fact to be withdrawn from the public if it were not that reasons of strategy made it necessary so to do? I think we should remember that. If anybody says, "I don't like the Press Censorship; they manage it better in Germany"—[laughter]—I say I agree with them. So they do. They are used to it. [Laughter.] They have in Germany a censorship far more strict and absolute than we have any experience of.

We have grown up under the great tradition of a free and unfettered Press that has had liberty to publish whatever it likes, whenever it likes, and wherever it likes, without asking anybody's leave, and subject to no restraint of its activities except a sense of responsibility and the law of libel. [Laughter.] I think that is much the best way, and when we get back to times of peace we shall return to that good practice as one of the first things that we do. In the meantime we must remember that in war-time these doctrines have to give way and give first place to military and naval considerations. For the rest, I am not at all sorry that the British people do not like the Press Censorship. I hope they never will. It is a good and healthy sign that they should dislike it. We have only adopted it for strategic and military reasons. Let us remember that those who are discharging the Press Censorship have undertaken a most unpleasant duty. There they are in the trenches, day and night, without ever getting any rest, working under the greatest pressure, and they are being shot at by friend and foe from every point of the compass. They cannot explain—it would not be in the public interest that they should explain—what is the precise reason why they apply this rule or that, and I think they are entitled to appeal to the British people and the British Press to endure this inconvenience as we are enduring many greater inconveniences, and to determine that this is only one of the small sacrifices we have to make in carrying this war through to a successful conclusion.

The Country has reason to be proud of the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment. It is, I think, the only regiment officially entitled to use the proud word loyal. They and their colleagues in other Lancashire regiments have already given one-half of the answer which the German Emperor was waiting for. The Kaiser has talked about General French's contemptible little army. He has already learned that the British soldier is not contemptible, and our duty now is to give him the answer to the other half of the slander. We had a little army when the war broke out. We were a peaceful people, and did not want to go to war on the Continent or anywhere else. We felt we were strong in our little island, defended by an incomparable Navy night and day—[cheers]—but the Kaiser scornfully threw down the challenge, and it was for us to take it up.

We have shown abundantly that our Army is of incomparable quality; what we have to show now is that it can produce numbers which will make even the Lord of Potsdam withdraw his censure. We in this land have never known what war means; we do not understand its real horror as waged by the German Army; we have never had that horror brought before our eyes. But we may still have it if we fail to do our duty—we would deserve to have it.

Thanks to that blessed destiny which has put us in this island, we are in a certain sense only the spectators of much of the horror and disaster which war has involved, and the young men should bear that in mind when they are tempted to think that the need for their services is small. Another thing I want to ask of you, do not undertake a great mission, as this most surely is, in any spirit of light-hearted adventure. It is not a picnic you are being invited to; it is a stern, laborious, painful, and possibly even fatal career. I recognize readily that there are many men who, having weighed the question fairly, are entitled to say, "My duty lies here at home." It is a question the answer to which a man must justify to his own conscience; I only ask you not to be too ready to assume that your duty is at home, and to remember that to-night in the trenches there are Lancashire soldiers, men from your own town, almost dropping for want of sleep, waiting for the time when workmates will come out and help to give them a night's respite from their anxious and arduous, but still glorious task.

EARL KITCHENER

[Speech of the Minister for War at the Lord Mayor's Guildhall Banquet on November 9, 1914, in responding to the toast "The Imperial Forces of the Crown." In his speech Lord Kitchener spoke with quiet confidence in the Army in the field, and of the greater Army in the making.]

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The generous terms in which this toast has been proposed and the manner in which it has been received will, I am sure, be highly appreciated by our soldiers in the field who have shown such undaunted courage and endurance in carrying out their duty to their King and country. It is pleasant for me to be able to tell you that every officer returning from the front has the same account to bring me:—"The men are doing splendidly." [Cheers.] Our Regular forces in France have now beside them both Territorial and Indian troops, and I am sure it must have been a pleasure to the Lord Mayor and the citizens of London to read Sir John French's eulogy of the London Scottish. The Indian troops have gone into the field with the utmost enthusiasm, and are showing by their courage and devotion the martial spirit with which they are imbued. [Cheers.]

I should like on this occasion to voice the tribute of praise, of high appreciation, and of warmest gratitude that we owe to our gallant Allies. We have now been fighting side by side with our French comrades for nearly three months, and every day increases the admiration which our forces feel for the glorious French Army. Under the direction of General Joffre, who is not only a great military leader but a great man, we may confidently rely on the ultimate success of the Allied Forces in the western theatre of the war. [Cheers.] In the East the Russian Armies, under the brilliant leadership of

the Grand Duke Nicholas, have achieved victories of the utmost value and of vast strategical importance in the general campaign. [Cheers.] No words of mine are needed to direct attention to the splendid deeds of the gallant Belgian Army. What they have suffered and what they have achieved has aroused unstinted and unbounded admiration. [Cheers.] To Japan, whose sailors and soldiers have victoriously displayed their gallantry and fine military qualities side by side with our own men; to Servia and Montenegro, valiantly fighting with us the fight for the smaller nations; I wish to testify the admiration, respect, and gratitude of their comrades in arms of the British Army. [Cheers.]

The British Empire is now fighting for its existence. I want every citizen to understand this cardinal fact, for only from a clear conception of the vast importance of the issue at stake can come the great national, moral impulse without which Governments, War Ministers, and even navies and armies can do but little. We have enormous advantages in our resources of men and material, and in that wonderful spirit of ours which has never understood the meaning of defeat. All these are great assets, but they must be used judiciously and effectively. [Cheers.]

I have no complaint whatever to make about the response to my appeals for men—and I may mention that the progress in military training of those who have already enlisted is most remarkable; the country may well be proud of them—but I shall want more men, and still more, until the enemy is crushed. Armies cannot be called together as with a magician's wand, and in the process of formation there may have been discomforts and inconveniences and, in some cases, even downright suffering. I cannot promise that these conditions will wholly cease, but I can give you every assurance that they have already greatly diminished and that everything which administrative energy can do to bring them to an end will assuredly be done. The men who come forward must remember that they are enduring for their country's sake just as their comrades are in the shell-torn trenches. [Cheers.]

The introduction of elaborate destructive machinery with which our enemies had so carefully and amply supplied themselves has been a subject of much eulogy on the part of military critics; but it must be remembered that, in the matter of preparation, those who fix beforehand the date of war have a considerable advantage over their neighbours; so far as we



EARL KITCHENER
(WAR MINISTER)

are concerned, we are clearly open to no similar suspicion. This development of armaments has modified the application of the old principles of strategy and tactics, and reduced the present warfare to something approximating to siege operations. Our losses in the trenches have been severe ; such casualties, far from deterring the British nation from seeing the matter through, will act rather as an incentive to British manhood to prepare themselves to take the places of those who have fallen. [Cheers.] I think it has now been conceded that the British Army, under the gallant and skilled leadership of its commander, has proved itself to be not so contemptible an engine of war as some were disposed to consider it. Sir John French and his generals have displayed military qualities of the highest order, and the same level of courage and efficiency has been maintained throughout all ranks in the Army. [Cheers.]

Although, of course, our thoughts are constantly directed towards the troops at the front and the great task they have in hand, it is well to remember that the enemy will have to reckon with the forces of the great Dominions, the vanguard of which we have already welcomed in the very fine body of men forming the contingents from Canada and Newfoundland ; while from Australia, New Zealand, and other parts are coming in quick succession soldiers to fight for the Imperial cause. And besides all these, there are training in this country over a million and a quarter of men eagerly waiting for the call to bear their part in the great struggle, and as each and every soldier takes his place in the field, he will stand forward to do his duty, and in doing that duty will sustain the credit of the British Army, which, I submit, has never stood higher than it does to-day. [Cheers.]

RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE

[London Welshmen crowded the Queen's Hall on September 19, 1914, when the Chancellor delivered one of the most memorable speeches of his career in support of the recruiting campaign. The occasion was marked by scenes of extraordinary enthusiasm. The hall, packed with young men ready to join the colours, resounded with the stirring strains of the Welsh National Anthem, Land of my Fathers, and the Welsh battlesong, Men of Harlech; great multitudes assembled outside the building, unable to secure admission.]

I HAVE come here this afternoon to talk to my fellow-countrymen about the great war and the part we ought to take in it. I feel my task is easier after we have been listening to the greatest battlesong in the world. [Cheers.]

There is no man in this room who has always regarded the prospects of engaging in a great war with greater reluctance, with greater repugnance, than I have done throughout the whole of my political life. [Cheers.] There is no man either inside or outside of this room more convinced that we could not have avoided it without national dishonour. [Cheers.] I am fully alive to the fact that whenever a nation was engaged in any war she has always invoked the sacred name of honour. Many a crime has been committed in its name; there are some crimes being committed now. [Hear, hear.] But nevertheless, national honour is a great reality, and any nation that disregards it is doomed. [Hear, hear.]

Why is our honour as a country involved in this war? Because in the first place we are bound in an honourable obligation to defend the independence, the liberty, the integrity of a small neighbour, that has lived peaceably. She could not have compelled us, because she was weak; but the man who declines to discharge his debt because his creditor is too poor to enforce it is a blackguard. [Cheers.]

We entered into this treaty, a solemn treaty, a full treaty, to defend Belgium and her integrity. Our signatures are attached to the document. Our signatures do not stand alone there. This was not the only country to defend the integrity of Belgium. Russia, France, Austria, and Prussia—[hisses]—they are all there. Why did they not perform the obligation? It is suggested that when you quote this treaty, it is purely an excuse on our part. It is our low craft and cunning, just to cloak our jealousy of a superior civilization—[laughter]—we are attempting to destroy.

Our answer is the action we took in 1870. [Cheers.] What was that? Mr. Gladstone was then Prime Minister. Lord Granville, I think, was then Foreign Secretary. I have never heard it alleged to their charge that they were ever Jingo. What did they do in 1870? We called upon the belligerent Powers to respect that Treaty. We called upon France, we called upon Germany. At that time, bear in mind, the greatest danger to Belgium came from France and not from Germany. We intervened to protect Belgium against France exactly as we are doing now to protect her against Germany. We are proceeding exactly in the same way. We invited both the belligerent Powers to state that they had no intention of violating Belgian territory. What was the answer given by Bismarck? He said it was superfluous to ask Prussia such a question in view of the treaties in force. France gave a similar answer.

We received the thanks at that time of the Belgian people for our intervention in a very remarkable document. Here is the document addressed by the municipality of Brussels to Queen Victoria after that intervention :

“The great and noble people over whose destinies you preside have just given a further proof of its benevolent sentiments towards this country. The voice of the English nation has been heard above the din of arms. It has asserted the principles of justice and right. Next to the unalterable attachment of the Belgian people to their independence the strongest sentiment which fills their hearts is that of an imperishable gratitude to the people of Great Britain.”

[Loud cheers.]

That was in 1870. Mark what follows. Three or four days after that document of thanks the French army was wedged up against the Belgian frontier. Every means of

escape shut up by a ring of flame from Prussian cannon. There was one way of escape. What was that? By violating the neutrality of Belgium. What did they do? The French on that occasion preferred ruin, humiliation, to the breaking of their bond.

The French Emperor, French Marshals, 100,000 gallant Frenchmen in arms preferred to be carried captive to the strange land of their enemy rather than dishonour the name of their country. It was the last French army defeat. Had they violated Belgian neutrality the whole history of that war would have been changed. And yet it was the interest of France to break the treaty. She did not do it.

It is the interest of Prussia to break the treaty, and she has done it. Why? She disavowed it with cynical contempt for every principle of justice. She says treaties only bind you when it is to your interest to keep them. "What is a treaty?" says the German Chancellor; "a scrap of paper."

Have you any five-pound notes about you? [Laughter.] I am not calling for them. [Renewed laughter.] Have you any of those neat little Treasury £1 notes? [Laughter.] If you have, burn them; they are only "scraps of paper." [Applause.] What are they made of? Rags. [Laughter.] What are they worth? The whole credit of the British Empire. [Applause.] "Scraps of paper!"

I have been dealing with scraps of paper within the last month. We suddenly found the commerce of the world coming to a standstill. The machine had stopped. Why? I will tell you. We discovered, many of us for the first time—I don't pretend to say that I do not know much more about the machinery of commerce to-day than I did six weeks ago, and there are a good many men like me—we discovered the machinery of commerce was moved by bills of exchange. I have seen some of them—[laughter]—wretched, crinkled, scrawled over, blotched, frowsy, and yet these wretched little scraps of paper moved great ships, laden with thousands of tons of precious cargo, from one end of the world to the other. [Applause.] What was the motive power behind them? The honour of commercial men. [Applause.] Treaties are the currency of international statesmanship. [Applause.]

Let us be fair. German merchants, German traders had the reputation of being as upright and straightforward as any traders in the world. [Hear, hear.] But if the currency of German commerce is to be debased to the level of that of

her statesmanship, no trader, from Shanghai to Valparaiso, will ever look at a German signature again. [Cheers.] This doctrine of the scrap of paper, this doctrine which is superscribed by Bernhardt, as treaties which serve only as long as it is to its interest, goes to the root of public law.

It is the straight road to barbarism. Just as if you removed the magnetic pole whenever it was in the way of a German cruiser—[laughter]—the whole navigation of the seas would become dangerous, difficult, impossible, so the whole machinery of civilisation will break down if this doctrine wins in this war.

We are fighting against barbarism. [Applause.] But there is only one way of putting it right : if there are nations that say they will only respect treaties when it is to their interest to do so, we must make it to their interest to do so for the future.

What is their defence? Just look at the interview which took place between the British Ambassador and great German officials. When their attention was called to this treaty to which they were partners, they said, "We cannot help that." Rapidity of action was the great German asset. There is a greater asset for a nation than rapidity of action, and that is honest dealing. [Applause.]

What are her excuses? She said Belgium was plotting against her; Belgium was engaged in a great conspiracy with Britain and with France to attack her. Not merely is it not true, but Germany knows it is not true. What is her other excuse? France meant to invade Germany through Belgium. Absolutely untrue. France offered Belgium five army corps to defend her if she was attacked. Belgium said, "I don't require them. I have got the word of the Kaiser. Shall Cæsar send a lie?" All these tales about conspiracy have been fanned up since.

A great nation ought to be ashamed to behave like a fraudulent bankrupt. It is not true what she says. She has deliberately broken this treaty, and we were in honour bound to stand by it. [Cheers.]

Belgium has been treated brutally; how brutally we shall not yet know. We know already too much. What had she done? Did she send an ultimatum to Germany? Did she challenge Germany? Was she preparing to make war on Germany? Had she inflicted any wrongs upon Germany which the Kaiser was bound to redress? She was one of the most

unoffending little countries in Europe. [Hear, hear.] She was peaceable, industrious, thrifty, hard-working, giving offence to no one, and her cornfields have been trampled down, her villages have been burned to the ground, her art treasures have been destroyed, her men have been slaughtered—aye, and her women and children, too. [Shame !]

What had Belgium done? Hundreds of thousands of her people have had their quiet, comfortable little homes burned to the dust, and are wandering homeless in their own land. What is their crime? Their crime was that they trusted to the word of a Prussian King. [Applause.] I don't know what the Kaiser hopes to achieve by this war. I have a shrewd idea of what he will get; but one thing is made certain, that no nation in future will ever commit that crime again.

I am not going to enter into these tales. Many of them are untrue. War is a grim, ghastly business at best or at worst, and I am not going to say that all that has been said in the way of tales of outrage must necessarily be true. I will go beyond that and say that if you turn two millions of men, forced, conscripted, and compelled and driven, into the field, you will certainly get amongst them a certain number of men who will do things that the nation itself will be ashamed of.

It is enough for me to have the story which the Germans themselves avow, admit, defend, proclaim—the burning and massacring, the shooting down of harmless people—why? Because, according to the Germans, they fired on German soldiers. What business had German soldiers there at all? [Cheers.] Belgium was acting in pursuance of a most sacred right—the right to defend your own home. But they were not in uniform when they shot. If a burglar broke into the Kaiser's palace at Potsdam, destroyed his furniture, shot down his servants, ruined his art treasures, especially those he made himself—[laughter and cheers]—burned his precious manuscripts, do you think he would wait until he got into uniform before he shot him down? [Laughter.]

German perfidy has already failed. They entered Belgium to save time; the time has gone. [Cheers.] They have not gained time, but they have lost their good name.

But Belgium was not the only little nation that has been attacked in this war, and I make no excuse for referring to the case of the other little nation, the case of Servia. The history of Servia is not unblotted. What history in the category of nations is unblotted? The first nation that is without

sin let her cast a stone at Servia. A nation trained in a horrible school, she won her freedom with her tenacious valour, and she has maintained it by the same courage. If any Servians were mixed up in the assassination of the Grand Duke they ought to be punished. Servia admits that. The Servian Government had nothing to do with it. Not even Austria claimed that. The Servian Prime Minister is one of the most capable and honoured men in Europe. Servia was willing to punish any one of her subjects who had been proved to have any complicity in that assassination. What more could you expect?

What were the Austrian demands? Servia sympathized with her fellow-countrymen in Bosnia. That was one of her crimes. She must do so no more. Her newspapers were saying nasty things about Austria. They must do so no longer. That is the Austrian spirit. You had it in Zabern. How dare you criticize a Prussian official, and if you laugh—[laughter]—it is a capital offence. The Colonel threatened to shoot them if they repeated it. Servian newspapers must not criticize Austria. I wonder what would have happened had we taken the same line about German newspapers.

Servia said: "Very well, we will give orders to the newspapers that they must not criticize Austria in future; neither Austria nor Hungary, nor anything that is theirs." [Laughter.] Who can doubt the valour of Servia when she undertook to tackle her newspaper editors? [Laughter.] She promised not to sympathize with Bosnia, promised to write no critical articles about Austria. She would have no public meetings at which anything unkind was said about Austria.

That was not enough. Servia must dismiss from her army officers whom Austria should subsequently name. But these officers had just emerged from a war where they were adding lustre to the Servian arms—gallant, brave, efficient. [Cheers.] I wonder whether it was their guilt or their efficiency that prompted Austria's action. But mark, the officers were not named; Servia was to undertake in advance to dismiss them from the Army, the names to be sent on subsequently.

Can you name a country in the world that would have stood that? Supposing Austria or Germany had issued an ultimatum of that kind to this country: "You must dismiss from your Army and from your Navy all those officers whom we shall subsequently name!" Well, I think I could name them now. Lord Kitchener—[cheers]—would go. Sir John

French—[cheers]—would be sent about his business. [Laughter.] General Smith-Dorrien—[cheers]—would be no more, and I am sure that Sir John Jellicoe—[cheers]—would go. [Laughter.] And there was another gallant old warrior who would go—Lord Roberts. [Cheers.]

It was a difficult situation for a small country. Here was a demand made upon her by a great military Power who could put five or six men in the field for every one she could; and that Power supported by the greatest military Power in the world. How did Serbia behave? It is not what happens to you in life that matters; it is the way in which you face it. [Cheers.] And Serbia faced the situation with dignity. [Loud cheers.] She said to Austria: "If any officers of mine have been guilty and are proved to be guilty I will dismiss them." Austria said: "That is not good enough for me." [Laughter.] It was not guilt she was after, but capacity. [Laughter.]

Then came Russia's turn. Russia has a special regard for Serbia. She has a special interest in Serbia. Russians have shed their blood for Servian independence many a time. Serbia is a member of her family, and she cannot see Serbia maltreated. Austria knew that. Germany knew that, and Germany turned round to Russia and said: "Here, I insist that you shall stand by with your arms folded whilst Austria is strangling to death your little brother." [Laughter.]

What answer did the Russian Slav give? He gave the only answer that becomes a man. [Cheers.] He turned to Austria and said: "You lay hands on that little fellow and I will tear your ramshackle empire—[loud and prolonged cheering]—limb from limb." [Renewed cheers.] And he is doing it. [Great cheering.]

That is the story of the little nations. The world owes much to little nations—[cheers]—and to little men. [Laughter and cheers.] This theory of bigness—you must have a big Empire and a big nation and a big man—well, long legs have their advantage in a retreat. [Hear, hear, and laughter.] Frederick the Great chose his warriors for their height, and that tradition has become a policy in Germany. Germany applied that ideal to nations. She will only allow six feet two nations to stand in the ranks. [Laughter.]

But all the world owes much to the little five feet five nations. [Cheers.] The greatest art of the world was the work of little nations. [Cheers.] The most enduring literature of the world came from little nations. The greatest literature

of England came from her when she was a nation of the size of Belgium fighting a great Empire. [Cheers.] The heroic deeds that thrill humanity through generations were the deeds of little nations fighting for their freedom. [Cheers.]

Ah, yes, and the salvation of mankind came through a little nation. God has chosen little nations as the vessels by which He carries the choicest wines to the lips of humanity, to rejoice their hearts, to exalt their vision, to stimulate and to strengthen their faith, and if we had stood by when two little nations were being crushed and broken by the brutal hands of barbarism our shame would have rung down the everlasting ages. [Cheers.]

But Germany insists that this is an attack by a low civilization upon a higher. [Laughter.] Well, as a matter of fact the attack was begun by the civilization which calls itself the higher one. Now, I am no apologist for Russia. She has perpetrated deeds of which I have no doubt her best sons are ashamed. But what Empire has not? And Germany is the last Empire to point the finger of reproach at Russia. [Hear, hear.] But Russia has made sacrifices for freedom—great sacrifices. You remember the cry of Bulgaria when she was torn by the most insensate tyranny that Europe has ever seen. Who listened to the cry? The only answer of the higher civilization was that the liberty of Bulgarian peasants was not worth the life of a single Pomeranian soldier. But the rude “barbarians” of the North, they sent their sons by the thousands to die for Bulgarian freedom. [Cheers.]

What about England? You go to Greece, the Netherlands, Italy, Germany, and France, and all these lands could point out to you places where the sons of Britain have died for the freedom of these countries. [Cheers.] France has made sacrifices for the freedom of other lands than her own. Can you name a single country in the world for the freedom of which the modern Prussian has ever sacrificed a single life? [Cheers.] The test of our faith, the highest standard of civilization, is the readiness to sacrifice for others. [Cheers.]

I would not say a word about the German people to disparage them. They are a great people; they have great qualities of head, of hand, and of heart. I believe, in spite of recent events, there is as great a store of kindness in the German peasant as in any peasant in the world, but he has been drilled into a false idea of civilization — [hear, hear] — efficiency, capability. But it is a hard civilization; it is

selfish civilization; it is a material civilization. They could not comprehend the action of Britain at the present moment. They say so. "France," they say, "we can understand. She is out for vengeance, she is out for territory—Alsace-Lorraine. Russia, she is fighting for mastery; she wants Galicia."

They can understand vengeance, they can understand you fighting for mastery, they can understand you fighting for greed of territory; they cannot understand a great Empire pledging its resources, pledging its might, pledging the lives of its children, pledging its very existence to protect a little nation that seeks for its defence. [Cheers.] God made man in His own image, high of purpose, in the region of the spirit. German civilization would recreate him in the image of a Diesel engine—precise, accurate, powerful, with no room for the soul to operate. That is the higher civilization.

What is their demand? Have you read the Kaiser's speeches? If you have not a copy, I advise you to buy it; they will soon be out of print—[laughter]—and you won't have any more of the same sort again. [Renewed laughter and cheers.] They are full of the clatter and bluster of German militarists—the mailed fist, the shining armour. Poor old mailed fist—its knuckles are getting a little bruised. Poor shining armour—the shine is being knocked out of it. [Laughter.]

But there is the same swagger and boastfulness running through the whole of the speeches. You saw that remarkable speech which appeared in the *British Weekly* this week. It is a very remarkable product, as an illustration of the spirit we have got to fight. It is his speech to his soldiers on the way to the front:

"Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, on me as German Emperor the Spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword, and His vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and unbelievers."

There has been nothing like it since the days of Mohammed. Lunacy is always distressing, but sometimes it is dangerous, and when you get it manifested in the head of the State, and it has become the policy of a great Empire, it is about time that it should be ruthlessly put away. [Cheers.] I do not believe he meant all these speeches, it was simply the martial straddle which he had acquired.

But there were men around him who meant every word of it. This was their religion. Treaties—they tangle the feet of Germany in her advance; cut them with the sword. Little nations—they hinder the advance of Germany; trample them in the mire under the German heel. The Russian Slav—he challenges the supremacy of Germany in Europe; hurl your legions at him and massacre him. Britain—she is a constant menace to the predominancy of Germany in the world; wrest the trident out of her hand.

More than that, the new philosophy of Germany is to destroy Christianity—sickly sentimentalism about sacrifice for others, poor pap for German mouths. We will have the new diet, we will force it on the world. It will be made in Germany—[laughter]—a diet of blood and iron. What remains? Treaties have gone; the honour of nations has gone, liberty gone; what is left? Germany! Germany is left—Deutschland über Alles!

That is what we are fighting—that claim of the predominancy of a civilization, a material one, a hard one, a civilization which at once rules and enslaves the world. Liberty goes, democracy vanishes, and unless Britain comes to the rescue with her sons, it will be a dark day for humanity!

Have you followed the Prussian Junker and his doings? We are not fighting the Germans. The German people are just as much under the heel of this Prussian military caste, and more so, thank God, than any other nation in Europe. It will be a day of rejoicing for the German peasant and artizan and trader when the military caste is broken. You know their pretensions. They give themselves the airs of demi-gods, walking the pavements, civilians and their wives swept into the gutter. They have no right to stand in the way of a great Prussian soldier. Men, women, nations, have all got to go. This is all he has to say: "We are in a hurry." This is the answer he gave to Belgium: "Rapidity of action is Germany's greatest asset," which means "I am in a hurry; clear out of my way." You know the type of motorist, the terror of the road, with a 60 h.p. car, who thinks the roads were made for him. Anybody who impedes the action of his car by a single mile is knocked down.

The Prussian Junker is the road-hog of Europe. Small nationalities in his way are flung to the roadside bleeding and broken; women and children thrust under the wheel of his cruel car. Britain ordered out of his road. All I can say is

this. If the old British spirit is alive in British hearts, that bully will be torn from his seat. [Great cheering.] Were he to win, it would be the greatest catastrophe that had befallen democracy since the days of the Holy Alliance and its ascendancy.

They think we cannot beat them. It will not be easy. It will be a long job. It will be a terrible war. But in the end we shall march through terror to triumph. [Applause.] We shall need all our qualities; every quality that Britain and its people possess—prudence in counsel, daring in action, tenacity in purpose, courage in defeat, moderation in victory; in all things, faith; and we shall win. [Applause.]

It has pleased them to believe and to preach the belief that we are a decadent, degenerate nation. They proclaim it to the world, through their professors—[laughter]—that we are an unheroic nation, skulking behind our mahogany counters, whilst we are egging on more gallant races to their destruction. This is a description given of us in Germany—a timorous, craven nation, trusting to its fleet. I think they are beginning to find out their mistake already. [Applause.] And there are half a million of young men of Britain who have already registered their vow to their King that they will cross the sea and hurl that insult against British courage against its perpetrators on the battlefields of France and of Germany. [Applause.] And we want half a million more. And we shall get them. [Applause.]

But Wales must continue doing her duty. I should like to see a Welsh army in the field. I should like to see the race who faced the Normans for hundreds of years in their struggle for freedom, the race that helped to win the battle of Crecy, the race that fought for a generation under Glendower against the greatest captain in Europe—I should like to see that race give a good taste of its quality in this struggle in Europe, and they are going to do it. [Cheers.]

I envy you young people your youth. They have put up the age limit for the Army—[laughter]—but I march, I am sorry to say, a good many years even beyond that. But still our turn will come. It is a great opportunity. It only comes once in many centuries to the children of men. For most generations, sacrifice comes in drab weariness of spirit to men. It has come to-day to you; it has come to-day to us all, in the form of the glow and thrill of a great movement for liberty, that impels millions throughout Europe to the same end.

It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from the thralldom of a military caste, which has cast its shadow upon two generations of men, and which has now plunged the world into a welter of bloodshed. Some have already given their lives. There are some who have given more than their own lives. They have given the lives of those who are dear to them. I honour their courage, and may God be their comfort and their strength. [Applause.]

But their reward is at hand. Those who have fallen have consecrated death. They have taken their part in the making of a new Europe, a new world. I can see signs of it coming in the glare of the battlefield. The people will gain more by this struggle in all lands than they comprehend at the present moment. It is true they will be rid of the menace to their freedom. But that is not all.

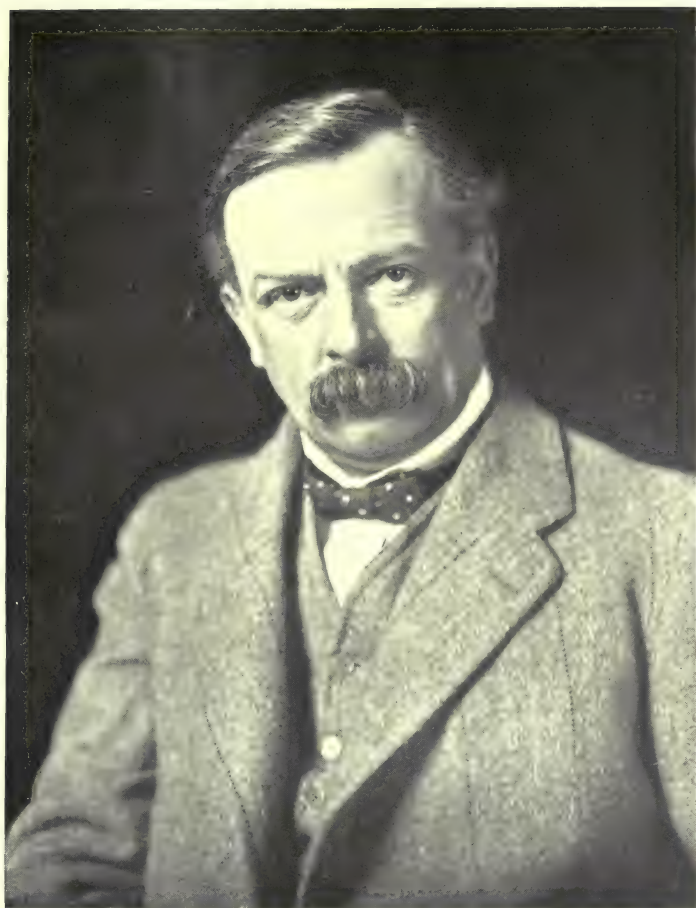
There is something infinitely greater and more enduring which is emerging already out of this great conflict—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, more exalted than the old.

I see a new recognition amongst all classes, high and low, shedding themselves of selfishness, a new recognition that the honour of a country does not depend merely on the maintenance of its glory in the stricken field, but in protecting its homes from distress as well. It is a new patriotism, it is bringing a new outlook for all classes. A great flood of luxury and of sloth which had submerged the land is receding, and a new Britain is appearing. We can see for the first time the fundamental things that matter in life, and that have been obscured from our vision by the tropical growth of prosperity.

May I tell you, in a simple parable, what I think this war is doing for us? I know a valley in North Wales, between the mountains and the sea, a beautiful valley, snug, comfortable, sheltered by the mountains from all the bitter blasts. It was very enervating, and I remember how the boys were in the habit of climbing the hills above the village to have a glimpse of the great mountains in the distance and to be stimulated and freshened by the breezes which came from the hilltops and by the great spectacle of that great valley.

We have been living in a sheltered valley for generations. We have been too comfortable, too indulgent, many perhaps too selfish. And the stern hand of fate has scourged us to an elevation where we can see the great everlasting things that matter for a nation, the great peaks of honour we had forgotten,

duty and patriotism, clad in glittering white, the great pinnacle of sacrifice pointing like a rugged finger to Heaven. We shall descend into the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of these great mountain peaks whose fingers are unshaken though Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war. [Loud cheers.]



RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE
(CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER)

DR. CLIFFORD

[An Address given at Westbourne Park Chapel on January 1, 1915.]

THE year nineteen hundred and fourteen will be remembered by us, and by our children—and for many generations to come—as the year of the Great War, in the same way that our fathers thought, and we think, of 1815 as the year of Waterloo, and 1666 as the year of the Great Fire of London.

It is a great war, and great in this, that it differs *in toto* from all the wars of the past. There has been nothing like it. “It is,” says *The Times*, “the biggest thing that has ever happened in the way of wars in the whole world since the dawn of history. It transcends all limits of thought, imagination, and history. We little creeping creatures cannot see more than a fraction of it.”

It is true; but we see more than enough to appal and overwhelm us. The ghastly tragedy oppresses us night and day. More than half of the great human family is directly involved in the awful strife, and the whole future of the remaining portions, for weal or woe, hangs on its issues. Between sixteen and seventeen millions of soldiers are either already on the fields of battle, or preparing to go there; and over a thousand millions of men, women and children have their individual and social interests at stake in it. In width of range, in cost, in destruction of property, and in waste of human life, it is absolutely without parallel in all the campaigns and battles of the long past.

Mr. Lloyd George says that Britain alone is spending forty-five millions a month, and it is notorious that the other belligerents are spending very much more. Two millions of our own men are under arms as soldiers and sailors, and before the New Year has travelled far there will be half a million more. And who are they? The very pick of the nation! The flower of all classes of society: the poor and the rich; workmen and students, the élite of the trade unions and of the churches, brilliant scholars of the Universities of Oxford and

Cambridge, of London and Manchester ; men of the bench and of the bar, of the shop and of the factory ; and they come freely and without conscription, from the simple compulsion of duty to their country and to humanity and to the Kingdom of God. There has been nothing in our annals to equal the splendour and magnificence of Britain's contribution to this gigantic effort to save the soul of the world.

Nor are the sacrifices made by the other belligerents on a smaller scale. Indeed, they are larger ; and it is estimated that already four millions of our fellows have fallen on the battle-fields of Flanders and Northern France, killed or wounded : men of strong physique and disciplined will and brave spirit, who should have been the fathers of the new generation ; but they are mown down like the grass of the summer fields, limiting the new race in its numbers, and marring it in its quality, disturbing the ratio between the sexes, and producing results, physical, economical, and moral, that will enfeeble and cripple the world for generations to come. Besides that, property has been destroyed already, to the value of one-quarter of the world's entire wealth ; so that judging from the effects of other wars, it will take a hundred years of peace and prosperity to restore the property of the world to the conditions that existed prior to the opening of the furnaces of war. The nations are stupidly killing the customers they will need for their produce when they get back to the sanity of peace.

Moreover, no war ever had such measureless resources as this one. The inventions and discoveries of scientific men have reached their maximum output in the interests of wholesale slaughter, not only on land and sea, but also in the air. Organization has been carried to perfection. Entrenchments are in the mud. Little is seen and less told. Silence is a necessary weapon. The reporter is barred. Brilliance is impossible. The "grim spectacles," the glowing colours are all gone, and a dull khaki reigns over the whole titanic conflict. The powers of darkness, too, are abroad ; for, as the Prime Minister said : "This is not merely a material, but it is also a spiritual conflict. Upon this issue everything that contains the promise and hope that leads to emancipation and fuller liberties for the millions who make up the masses of mankind will be found, sooner or later, to depend." It is an hour of spiritual crisis ; it is a conflict of ideas of the State, its function and end ; of the rights of small nationali-

ties ; of the obligations of Public Law and the pledged word ; of righteousness as against brute force ; of the freedom of the citizen against centralized military rule ; of man and his conscience ; of God and His kingdom ; it is a gigantic world battle for the greatest, the most precious spiritual possessions the world has won in its continuous struggles. The contest is not for the supremacy of any single State ! No ; States come and States go. They are institutions, and institutions are " like snowflakes on a river, one moment here, then gone for ever " : it is for those true and just ideas and principles, which are the real wealth of humanity, and it is for them, and therefore for humanity, we have been battling in this year 1914, and are battling still.

The tremendous character of this war is seen in the overwhelming completeness with which, although it has only been waged for 150 days out of the 365, it has wiped out, as with a sponge, all the events and experiences of the seven months prior to its advent. I have catechized some of my friends as to what happened in and out of England in the earlier part of the year. " Tell me," I have said, " something that took place in April ! What was China doing in March ? Was Colorado quiet in February ? " Books were published ; who can tell the names of two or three ? The artists were at their tasks ; does any scene or picture remain in the chamber of imagination ? Great men passed away, and their names are recorded in a line or two, even though one sat on the Papal throne, and another had the distinction of shattering two great political parties. Events took place : will you recall half a dozen charged with dynamic and reproductive energy, for the shaping of the world's future ! The fact is, when Mars takes the stage, clad in " shining armour," there is no room for anybody else. It is at once swept clear of all previous occupants. The Kaiser sought " a place in the sun "—and to that he has as much right as any other person—but he so sought and gained his position that there has been no room since for anything, or any one, that did not concern him. Men are so obsessed by the obnoxious and distressful presence that they are not able to think of anything else. We say " business as usual " ; but we know well enough, it is not " as usual " and cannot be. It is one of the effects of the appalling cataclysm of war that it carries into an abyss of forgetfulness the patient toil, the zealous devotion, the noble idealism, and the strenuous efforts of the preceding seven

months ; shunting the workers off the main line of human progress to a siding, where they are out of sight and also out of mind.

But their toil is not lost. It will be seen again. The river of life is shut out from view by the fog of war ; but it will be there when the fog is lifted. The buried seed will spring up again, if not with the crocus and the violet, then, a little later, with the roses that fling themselves in their glory over the cottage walls. The primal realities endure. All that altruism, urging itself upwards and forwards in ten thousand directions, though suddenly diverted from its course, and, maybe, hindered to some degree, will be found in the sum of things that make for human progress. War makes an end of building and shatters some of the creations of man ; but his inward and spiritual work cannot perish. It belongs to eternity and bears its fruit in due season. The soul of the world is rent and tortured, and it is for a time, alas ! for a long time, absorbed with its wounds ; but healing is in its very structure, and when the balm of righteousness has done its work, the labours of the first seven months of 1914 will enrich and gladden the hearts of men.

There is one phase—and that the most important of all—of these first seven months that filled some observers with sadness and despondency and stirred others to penitence and shame ; and, when it is fully understood, goes far to explain much of the suffering and misery that has crowded the five months which followed. The ethical and religious condition of the world from January to August was full of menace. The signs of reality and sincerity, of noble idealism and devotion to duty were far to seek. Indications of moral lapse were many. Seriousness was almost driven out of the life of most men ; and even the avowed disciples of Jesus Christ were lacking in earnestness and passion ; in eagerness to accept responsibility and make sacrifices. Institutional religion gave few signs of virility, of grasp of the situation, of the mastery of the ethical content of Christianity, of formative influence on life, on international relations, on industry and the wage-earning people, on the use of money and on society. The Churches were complaining of loss of members, of weakness and want of progress, of the rush for pleasure and luxury, of the disregard of righteousness and justice. What our predecessors called, in their direct way, the Seven Deadly Sins of Pride, Anger, Envy, Avarice, Sloth, Gluttony,

and Lust, reigned over and enslaved the world. The soul of England was dead in trespasses and in sins, and there was no compelling voice calling aloud, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee light." Society had drifted towards practices and ideals wholly unworthy of a reflective people gifted with sense and reason. We had gone astray from the true path of individual and social life, lost spiritual enthusiasm, and depth and simplicity of living. Materialism and the mechanical complications of life had mastered us. "Comfort," as Disraeli said, "is mistaken for civilization," owing to our false estimate of, and over-confidence in, material values and sensuous satisfactions. We were not happy, we could not be, seeking our own will and not God's, as though each man were his own highest good, and torturing ourselves in the foolish idea that in a feverish attachment to "things" the insatiable spirit of men can reach its true summit, and by brute energy in sport, or keen intellect, or emotional excitement, discover the goal of human existence, *i.e.* by egotism, vanity, and self-interest in its myriad forms. We see *now* that it was a deplorable condition, and could scarcely be surprised if in this hour of manifestation, the prophet were to say to us, "Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly; they have forsaken the Lord, they have despised the Holy One of Israel, they are estranged, and gone backward. Why will ye be still stricken, that ye revolt more and more? The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds and bruises and festering sores; they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with oil. Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land—strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers."

If, then, this war has already revealed to us the way in which we have succumbed to the temptations of a long period of exceptional prosperity, may we not believe that in other ways, accursed as all war is, and must be, this very war is now taking its place amongst the ministers of progress, and in the language of Professor L. T. Hobhouse, "functioning development"?

For human progress depends upon self-consciousness, and self-consciousness depends upon nations and groups of people, seeing themselves as they really are, and then proceeding from

that self-knowledge to cleanse their vision, ennoble their ideals, and amend their ways. That is now coming to pass. Good is once more being brought out of evil, and evil of nearly the most direful sort. This war has opened men's eyes. The mists are lifted. Long-smouldering fires blaze out, and make the sky lurid with their flames. National and international follies and sins are laid bare to the very nerve. Consciences are roused at, and staggered by, what we have been doing, and still more by what we have failed to do. Hearts are purged, and the will of the world is more definitely set towards righteousness and peace.

I am sure of it. Belgium has had a vision of her nobler self; she is cleansed of the stains of the past by the fiery trials to which she has been subjected, and made capable of heroic sacrifices and splendour of daring, which have won for her the sympathy and admiration of the world. France knows *now* that she is not what she was in the days of the Empire. Her nerves are steel; her resolves are fixed; her spirit steady and calm; her soul clad with the panoply of courage, fortitude, and faith. She refuses to drift, and is master of herself. Russia saw the true course and took, in one stride of splendid sacrifice of imperial revenue, a leap right away from self-indulgence and intemperance to sobriety, a virile manhood, and a larger freedom. Germany is preparing to recast her estimate of herself; to doubt whether, after all, her swaggering "culture" is anything more than polished egotism and gilded barbarity, and the loud-tongued proclamation of her superiority to all peoples that on earth do dwell, little more than the vapourings of a spoilt child.

And what have the five months which have elapsed since the thunderstorm burst taught us? They have taught us that whilst we have been Christian, we have not been Christian nearly enough; they have led us back to God and reality; forced us to measure the bigness of the spiritual issues before us; driven us inward upon ourselves, and the God who dwells there as in His temple; they have toughened our moral fibre, instructed us in sacrifice, generated a new spirit of willingness and pluck, of readiness to endure and not to flinch; to fight on—not for ourselves, but for that kingdom of righteousness, which is so much greater and wider than we are, and which exists and grows for us and all our fellows the world over.

That does not mean that this war is not hateful and hellish. It is horrible. We cannot sophisticate about it. It carries

us away into a world of hatred and murder and death ; of waste and misery ; of wholesale crimes ; and forces us to say with the Temanite : " How much more abominable and filthy is man, who drinketh iniquity like water ? " It is the crime of crimes. It is ; and the pacifist hates war more than ever, now he is forced, in obedience to what he holds to be the call of God and of humanity, to enter into it and become an active supporter of it. He does not—certainly I do not—surrender one jot or tittle of the peacemaker's policy or rewrite a line of it. He does not apologize for his determined pursuit of peace up to the very last moment that there was the faintest chance of maintaining it ; not he ! he will wear no white sheet. He stands where he did, and as he did, as you may see in Prof. Gilbert Murray's book, *How Can War Ever Be Right ?* who says :

" I have all my life been an advocate of peace. I hate war, not merely for its own cruelty and folly, but because it is the enemy of all the causes that I care for most, of social progress and good government and all friendliness and gentleness of life, as well as of art and learning and literature. I have spoken and presided at more meetings than I can remember for peace and arbitration and the promotion of international friendship. I opposed the policy of war in South Africa with all my energies, and have been either out-spokenly hostile or inwardly unsympathetic towards almost every war that Great Britain has waged in my lifetime. If I may speak more personally, there is none of my own work into which I have put more intense feeling than into my translations of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the first great denunciation of war in European literature. I do not regret any word that I have spoken or written in the cause of peace, nor have I changed, as far as I know, any opinion that I have previously held on this subject. Yet I believe firmly that we were right to declare war against Germany on August 4, 1914, and that to have remained neutral in that crisis would have been a failure in public duty.

We are now, as we were, advocates of national and international peace ; not only not impenitent pacifists, but more resolutely than ever contending for peace, because we have now, in obedience to the clear call of duty, to back to the uttermost a war for righteousness, for freedom, for fidelity to the plighted word, for the sacredness of public law ; in short, I say again, for the soul of the world.

And our faith in the real advance of peace through this war is justified ; for never was the protest against war so

intense, vehement, and flaming and widespread as it is now. Never were the vigour and volume of denunciation of war so manifest ; never were so many hearts troubled by its horrors; never was more opprobrium poured out on the false doctrines, inhuman policies, and un-Christian temper of war, as now. As *The Westminster Gazette* says: "The world no longer consents to evil." The "frightfulness" of this war, the murder of babies and women and other non-combatants, and the destruction of the most cherished treasures of art, never inspired such fiery hostility as within the last five months. Germany has a right to claim this superiority, that it has surpassed all the cruelties and barbarities of all the wars of the world, from the conflicts of the earliest savages down to this day. The repugnance created to the ideas, and to the methods of action, of the Germans is beyond imagining. Men are exasperated, and as long as the world endures it will not be forgotten.

Not even Germany can avoid being ashamed of the responsibility of creating the war, and she is so anxious to win a favourable verdict from neutral peoples that she has created a vast machinery, at immense cost of money and time and labour, to destroy the universal conviction of her demonstrated guilt.

Hence I believe that, as the wars of the Commonwealth cleansed the fields of England for the reception of the seeds of liberty, whose harvests we enjoy to-day ; as the War of Independence was a factor of immense value in delivering the people of the United States of America from the kingly and bureaucratic despotism of that day, and establishing freedom and self-government ; as the war between the North and South, not only saved the Union, but made it possible to give the negro a start to economic independence, education, and to full citizenship along with those stranger peoples who pour like a great river through the democracy of the West, with its ever-widening life, so that it is the most wonderful creation on the planet, at present of the human spirit ; so this European war will give the most powerful impulse to the Peace movement it has ever received, and set the whole world organizing itself for the establishment and abiding maintenance of universal peace. It will be the renaissance of the peace spirit.

But some of you will say, "All that is mere conjecture—the offspring of your habitual optimism." Very well. I will

not stay to debate that with you, but will state some of the completely established certainties concerning this war: its origin, its course, and its results.

These are known. This is the 151st day, and each day has been a revelation. The evidence has grown with the hours in volume, in fullness and clearness, until he who runs may read and understand. At first we were not sure of our ground. The facts were not known. The diplomacy of Europe had been carried on in secret. Five or six men settled the affairs of these vast Empires, involving more than half the human race, in their private offices, and nobody knew how till they were forced to tell us. Everything was decided for us as though we were still in the nursery and not to be trusted with the knowledge of anything going on in the rest of the house. That is not right. It must be altered. The peoples who have to fight if there is war, to find the money, and to give up their lives, ought to know where they are being led and to what they are being committed. Is it too much to expect that this war may introduce a new departure in the management of our foreign affairs?

But the evidence could not be held back when the sword was drawn from its scabbard. Charles the First had to disclose his plans when he demanded cash. Speeches were made in the House of Commons, followed by questions and answers. Then came the British White Book, and its full and convincing statements were read with eagerness and confidence. The Russian book of witness followed, confirming all that had been found in our own. Germany countered some of the statements given on British authority, but its own book was far from satisfactory, and indeed, by what it omitted and what it misplaced, failed to secure assent from any but biased minds. Nor was the situation improved by the intervention of the professors! Indeed, anything more discreditable it would be difficult to discover. At a later date we were permitted to know what France had to say. Then followed letters written two or ten, or fifteen or twenty years ago, together with reports of speeches, the testimony of travellers; and books and pamphlets up to the reports of this morning. It is a vast accumulation to be arranged, sifted, weighed, and made the basis of a set of conclusions concerning the great war of 1914.

Now, the first absolute certainty is that Germany must carry—through all the ages—the responsibility of this war.

It was the aggressor. Questions were possible about that in August; they are not now. I do not for one moment rest that assertion on the British judgment, or on the witness of our Allies. That is not admissible. We are judging in our case. We must go beyond that to the bar "of the opinion of mankind," called by Hume and Professor Dicey and President Wilson, "the final arbiter in all such matters." * That arbiter has delivered judgment with a unanimity that is singularly cogent. In the judgment of the neutral peoples this unparalleled catastrophe is due to Germany. An American says, "Germany's greatest weakness to-day is its moral isolation. It stands condemned by the judgment of the civilized world." Superhuman and even grotesque efforts have been made by their masterly adepts in the art of making the worse appear the better reason, and yet they have come to nothing. Britain has left her official documents to speak to the Americans, and their plain and simple facts have been enough to convince the jury. Boastful mendacity may triumph for the hour and the day, but it will be found out to-morrow. Every effort to fix the blame on Britain, or Russia, or France, or Belgium, has in the eyes of the non-belligerent populations come to grief. Germany is the culprit, and future generations will never forget that she started this war—not in defence, for she was not attacked, but purely for aggression and conquest.

Slowly, but with accumulating force, the evidence has gathered, showing that the war was long intended and assiduously prepared for. It cannot be doubted that the plot which led to the war was in existence and known to Italy as far back as August 9, 1913; for it was then proposed by Germany and Austria to send an ultimatum to Servia of substantially the same import as that which was sent in July, 1914. Again, between the 1st and 10th of November, 1913, King Albert of Belgium found that the Kaiser had changed his mind as to peace, and held that war with France was inevitable. Nor can it be questioned that the most scientific and effective preparations for war have been proceeding for the last fifteen years. Nothing has been forgotten. Everything has been done to secure victory. Bernhardt visited the States in May, 1913, more than a year before the war, and privately addressed gatherings of Germans. Dr. Starr Jordan, a distinguished

* Cf. *The War and Public Opinion*. By J. Clifford. *Contemporary Review*, November, 1914.

American publicist, was present at one and heard Bernhardt affirming the necessity and righteousness of a war, and declaring as strongly as he could that it was Britain and not France that stood in Germany's way. The fact is that, in the face of all the testimony that has come to us, it is impossible to doubt that Germany was determined on war at the earliest convenient opportunity—she choosing the ground and the hour—and had prepared for it to a degree we have not even yet fathomed.

Nor is there the slightest ground for doubt that the immediate objective of the war was to clear Britain out of the way of Germany's march to the domination of the world. France was regarded as an obstacle easily removed. England was, and is, the foe. That is not guessed. It is declared, not by one or two Germans, but by scores, and placed beyond doubt by books and newspapers, and by the military caste. "World Power or Downfall" was the accepted motto; and "downfall" meant first the subjugation and vassalage of Great Britain, and next that of the United States, crowned by universal dominion. *The Hamburger Nachrichten* wrote: "We have taken the field; but at bottom it is England we are fighting everywhere." It is not co-operation that is sought, but control; not comradeship in the service of humanity, but domination for its own sake and for the glory of German "culture." That, too, is placed beyond doubt.

And if we go a little deeper we discover that the poisoned sources from whence springs this aggressive and domineering attitude of Prussia is in the totally false conception it has formed of the State on the one hand, and of war on the other. Their doctrine is that the State is and must be military, and that war is the breath of its nostrils. The State is not a collection of brothers in a home, where liberty and equality of opportunity reign, but an armed camp, where men and women and children are all trained to take their place in wars of aggression, planned without regard to the rights of other communities, large or small; to public law or the sacredness of treaties, to the dictates of the universal conscience, or the claims of men, women, and children who are non-combatants. If you accept dogmas of that kind, you are only deceiving yourselves, if you do not expect a huge crop of horrible and devastating results.

Nor need I keep out of this category of certainties, after the experience of these five months, the fact that neutrality

for Great Britain was and is simply and absolutely impossible. We could do no other ; we can do no other than commit ourselves out and out, and with all we are and have, and to the bitter end to this strife ; not for our own sake, nor merely for the sake of our country, but for those just causes that are greater than nation, land, or empire, and embrace the well-being of the whole race. Force is, in short, the only method of resistance left to us. Talk is in vain. We might as well speak to the winds. Appeals to right and conscience are wasted, when might determines what is right, and conscience is not allowed to speak in the presence of necessity. " War is a horrible method of resistance ; but in this case there is no other. If you see a man trampling upon a woman you may walk away or you may knock him down. But it is in vain to argue the point with him while he tramples. Those who are for peace at any price are like the man who walks away. They are for peace, not on moral grounds ; but so that they and their countrymen may not suffer from war. They have ignored morals, just as much as the nation which goes to war so that it may conquer." As President Wilson said in 1911 : " No man can sit down and withhold his hands from the warfare against wrong, and get peace out of his acquiescence. The most solid and satisfying peace is that which comes from this constant spiritual warfare, and there are times in the history of nations when they must take up the crude instruments of bloodshed in order to vindicate spiritual conceptions. For liberty is a spiritual conception and when men take up arms to set other men free, there is something sacred and holy in the warfare."

We may have been—in my judgment we were—guilty of serious dereliction of duty before the war ; but when the die was cast as it was, there was only one course for us as men and brothers. That we took ; and that course we must keep until the day of deliverance comes, bringing us a just and lasting peace.

Other certainties I pass over in order to speak of some aspects of the war of the last five months, on which we are not so likely to be agreed ; and the first is that an armed peace is one of the most sure methods of creating war. The doctrine that if you desire peace you must prepare for war is a ghastly futility and an irritating delusion. You create war by building gigantic armaments, staggering us by their size and cost. It is an insensate wastage of wealth : an actual economic

war, as the workers are beginning to understand. It is a folly, a blasphemy, a wrong to man and an offence to God. Canon Scott Holland is right when he says: "Here was Christian Europe piling up the horrid preparations for war; taking every step toward war, except the very last. Can we be really surprised if the last step takes itself? Somehow, the war appears to present a new problem to Christianity, which had not been before our minds till now. In reality, war only forces to the front what was there already. War reveals what we have been in the time of peace. It is an outcome of the time before we were at war. It flings out, into dreadful relief, the thing that we are. We have been living at war with one another all the time. Every new gun, every new ship was an act of war. The nations were already in collision. They lived in distrust and fear and hate of one another. They carried on an existence of menace and wrath."

We will not think sanely about war. We talk as though the world had no Righteous Ruler, and reason as though order was not earth's first law. Whatever a nation sows it reaps. If it sows armaments, it reaps world-shaking wars. War is an effect of obvious causes; and we must get at the causes in order to stop the effects; and one of them is the continuance of Europe as an armed camp. We must end somehow this infamous scandal of Christendom. The Churches ought to give themselves no rest until they have so organized the world for peace that those tremendous armaments shall become a thing of the past. Men make war and men must end war. Men have created the military state, destructive and maleficent; they must replace it by the citizen state, man-building, constructive, and beneficent. Brain invented gunpowder and forged the sword; brain and heart together must restrict the powder to mining the rocks, and turn the sword into a ploughshare that shall prepare the soil for the seed. Private trade in weapons of war must cease at once, and armaments themselves must cease to be anything else than relics of the savage state men have left behind them.

Another contested question is illuminated by this war; namely, that of "conscription" for the Army. *The Times* sees little else in all the happenings than reasons for conscription; even the German raid on Scarborough and Whitby is taken as a text, on which the same megaphonic Harmsworth Press preaches the necessity of adopting that Prussian militarism, which has devastated Europe and brought upon its

head the malediction of the civilized world. *The Spectator* makes "conscription" its Christmas message. It is urged in the name of defence, but it will be used for aggression on the first favourable moment. No doubt we are now part of the Continent of Europe; but it is not for us to conform to those habits of the European States which have been proved so ineffectual and illusory. Conscription is the policy of despair, of reliance upon brute force, and not on judgment, reason, love of right, devotion to duty, self-sacrifice, and all those *moral* qualities, on which, by the confessions of the leaders of armies, their victories primarily depend. The Voluntary Service Committee have shown the efficiency of the voluntary principle to meet all the exigencies with which our country is, or may be, threatened, and we know that volunteers will do their work infinitely better than any conscript army possibly could. The nation must not consent to change its sufficient and efficient system at the bidding of a military caste.

Again, it has been urged by Germans that they have something better to give the nations of the earth than they at present possess, or than any other people can offer. If that is so, I am quite ready to say, by all means clear the way for them, and let them pour out their gifts. It is the law of national life; that the best nations judged by the highest ethical, humanitarian, and Christian standards are sure to survive. If we have the will and the power to offer the best, we need not fear for our future; and if Germany has something better, then I doubt not for one moment she will have an opportunity to give it.

Now we know something of Germany. More than ever we did. We know that it has neither a Free Press nor Free Speech. There is no public opinion. The Kaiser is above criticism. Popular government does not exist, and there is no real representation of the people in government, and nothing popular is to be expected in Prussia. Prussia is the open and declared foe of the people. The Yellow Book has a note which was laid before the French Minister of Foreign Affairs last year, speaking of the King of Prussia and the class of which he is the head, as seeing "with terror the democratization of Germany and the growing strength of the Socialist Party." The aristocratic party declined in the Reichstag from 162 in 1878 to 83 in 1898, and 57 in 1912, and of those only 27 were Conservatives, and they held like the Junkers that "only a

diversion abroad could delay the rise to power of the democratic and Socialist masses." Have you not seen also the protest against the war signed by some of the leading Socialists of Germany? The fact is, Germany is eager to give to the peoples of the earth what they are rejecting everywhere—the limitations of freedom and the despotisms of soldiers.

For example, Germany has given the Young Turks gold, and they have gone over to the Kaiser; but according to Sir Edward Pears, "a revolution is likely to break out shortly," and Dr. Starr Jordan has gone so far as to say that the best result of the war, to the end of the year, is that "England has got rid of the Turkish Alliance, which has been a millstone round her neck for half a century." If Germany has anything of more value than bribes of gold to give to debilitated, devastated, declining, shrinking Turkey, the way is open and the need is great.

No; though I would not say a word of boasting of England, yet I do think we need not fear to enter into this highest of national competitions; for it is only truth to say that, in spite of our manifold faults, our Empire stands before the world to-day for the most just and helpful treatment of subject peoples; for training them in, and for, self-government; for the gift of the liberty she claims for herself to all who come into any sort of alliance with her; and for the dissemination of material good and of moral inspiration to all who come within her sphere of influence; and Germany and the world have seen how the mother has drawn all her children to her side in trust and love, in their magnificent rally from all parts of the Empire to help her in this her time of need.

The Christian citizen is bound to detach himself from his patriotism to crave the best of everything for the whole human race, irrespective of classes and races and conditions, and it ought to be our supreme ambition to further in every way the wellbeing of the world, Germany included; or, in other words, the universal establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Therefore, the supreme business of all men of goodwill is to get the world organized for peace as speedily as possible, and on principles that will make that peace as abiding and as universal as the human race. That is the one lesson of this war; there ought to emerge from this conflict an organization for the solution of all international problems by a Court which shall command the confidence of all, and in compliance with laws sanctioned by the representatives of all, and carried

out by an executive police, not of one or two peoples, but selected from all. We need not an *entente* between two or three governments, and alliances on the part of two others, but a union of all in a compact Federation, by which any violation of the laws of the Federation shall be treated as a ground of action of all against that one.

It is not too much for pacifists to say that we are moving in that path with our faces set to that goal. The Hague Conference has not achieved all we hoped ; but it has advanced us along our journey. Mr. Bryan has arranged thirty-five treaties to make war impossible quite recently, Great Britain having just signed one. The International Peace Union of the United States has met and perfected its proposals for the maintenance of peace after the war ; they include complete disarmament, an International Tribunal, and an International Police. That is very significant ; for America leads the world, and must lead it, in peace. It is free from the dynastic questions that trouble Europe. It is also free from the tyranny of the past, and not so entangled in such inhuman dogmas as the Balance of Power and the maintenance of thrones.

It is a serious task ; the most serious that can engage the thoughts of men. The solution of the problem of foreign or international relations has been attempted again and again, and yet it remains unsolved. Kings and emperors have attacked it and drifted into war. Republics have done the same. Specialists have given it their attention, and yet the work waits to be done. But we need not fear. War did not reach its present diabolical effectiveness at a bound. Hundreds of years have been spent in making this tragic machine what it is to-day. The brains of generations have directed their energies to it. Surely it ought not to be thought a strange thing, considering what men are, and what difficulties groups of men find in living together, that it should take the experts and masters a long time to solve the problem of international relationships.

In order to accomplish our task for Europe, we must exercise the utmost solicitude to keep our soul free from the stain of self-seeking. Victors must secure enough detachment to avoid using the settlement for their exclusive advantage. That final arbiter, public opinion, must be kept within hearing, and the feelings of neutral peoples and defeated belligerents must not be forgotten. The Great Peace ought to have the backing of all the communities of Europe. As far as may be, no one

should be left with a real grievance, or the peace will not last. Even Germany should not be humiliated ; punished it is, and it will be still more, and punished severely ; but nothing should be done to create a passion for revenge. That would be most wasteful, and be likely to make a 1914 follow on an 1870.

Little nationalities must be vindicated and guaranteed their full rights of independence and freedom. Belgium must not only arrive at home again after her wanderings, but so replenished that she shall be able to rebuild her waste places, and make her devastated fields as a garden of the Lord. We must enter into new bonds for the security and peace of small States, and recognize with frankness the equality of the weak with the strong.

Then we must win back again to the life of nations what Gladstone called "that iron fidelity to public engagements, and stern regard for public law which is the legitimate defence for small countries against the great and powerful." For to destroy confidence in the pledged word of Governments is to take out the linch-pin from the chariot of progress.

It is also of vital importance that not an inch of territory should change hands except by the wish of the people themselves. The principle of self-government must be the basis of all rearrangements of the map of Europe. It is infinitely better than any external authority. There will be blunders, and they will have to be paid for. Suffering will come, but that will quicken the sense of responsibility. Such is the plan of God, and as humanity gets nearer to that plan it obtains righteousness and peace. The question is not for crowned heads and imperial dynasties ; not for diplomats with their balance of power, a balance that a touch may upset ; but for the peoples, left entirely free to choose the modes and forms of government which they prefer. Let the people rule themselves, and they will save themselves. They do not want war. They want peace. Philip Snowden told the House of Commons on the 18th of March that "the workers in this country echoed the sentiments of their comrades in France and Germany, and were determined to do all they could to promote peace, the greatest blessing of humanity." And though many of them have been forced into the fight against their choice, we may be sure they will come out of the contest more determined than ever to secure conditions of peace. Anyway, it is certain that the people must stop war. They have to save themselves. They are one, and the sense of

solidarity and brotherhood is growing amongst them. They see more and more the folly of pitting one nation against another and are eager for the pooling of the wealth of all nations for the benefit of all, and specially of the lowest and neediest. They are gaining a clearer conception of the end and aim of life, of the life of the individual and of humanity, of the humanity that is in each of us, and of the humanity that is in all of us ; they are obtaining a fuller control of all the conditions of life, material and spiritual, artistic and social and political. Trust the people. Rely on the vitality of the human spirit. It is wonderfully recuperative. There is goodwill enough to wish for peace, and faith and patience enough to work for it. You have seen that spirit. It compelled the wondering gaze of the whole world. Belgian heroism in the hour of peril was the surprise of the year. Without warning the cynical and alluring bait was flung down to her by the tempter. " Bow down to me," said he ; " allow me to go through your country, and you are safe. Resist, and you perish on the spot." Out in a moment leapt the shout of resistance, " Get thee behind me, tempter." She scorned to bargain away her soul. She elected death for freedom, for independence, for a conscience void of offence.

The scene is historic. Her splendid devotion and that of King Albert has touched the heart of the world. Her choice of the better part will live and teach the nations and aid in securing and shaping the Great Peace of 1915.



M. RENÉ VIVIANI
(FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

M. VIVIANI

(PREMIER OF THE FRENCH SENATE)

[Speech at the re-opening of the French Parliament in Paris on December 22, 1914. On the threatened investment of Paris the Government removed to Bordeaux, where the business of the State was conducted for four months.]

GENTLEMEN :—There is at present but one policy—a policy of merciless war until Europe has secured final liberation guaranteed by a completely victorious peace. That is the unanimous cry of Parliament, of the country, and of the army. In the face of the unexpected uprising of national sentiment, so unexpected by her, Germany was disturbed in the intoxication of her dream of victory. The French national unity surprised Germany. She had first denied right and spurned history ; now she tried to find excuses, but they were so many lies. All the documents published by other nations have proved them so, and likewise the sensational statement of one of the most illustrious representatives of the noble Italian nation, and since France and the Allies have now been compelled into war, they and we will wage it to the bitter end. [The whole House rises and applauds.] France, faithful to the Treaty of September 4, in which she pledged her honour, that is, her life, will lay down arms only when outraged right has been avenged ; when for ever the provinces torn from her have been rejoined to her ; when heroic Belgium has been restored to her full material and political independence, when Prussian militarism has been broken, and regenerate Europe rebuilt according to justice. [The whole House rises and applauds for several minutes.]

These projects for peace and war are not suggested to us, gentlemen, by mere presumptuous hopes. We have the

certainty of success. [Enthusiastic cheers.] We have shown that, as the Commander-in-Chief, who is a great soldier and a noble citizen—[renewed cheers]—said, the Republic may feel proud of the army she has prepared.

We salute all those heroes—glory to those who have fallen in the field before the final victory, and to those who by the final victory will to-morrow avenge them.

Gentlemen, the hour of final victory has not yet struck. The task till then will be severe. It may be long. Let us brace our courage and our will to it to-day, as yesterday. Let us utter one cry—Victory ; see one vision—Our Country ; entertain one ideal—Right. It is for that we are struggling, for that we see struggling by our side Belgium, who has given for that ideal all the blood in her veins ; unshakable England, loyal Russia, intrepid Servia, and the daring Japanese navy.

If this war is the most gigantic in history, it is not because peoples are flying at each other to win territory and markets, an aggrandisement of material life, or political and economic advantages. It is because they are in conflict to settle the fate of the world. Nothing greater has ever been displayed before the eyes of men. Against barbarism and despotism, against the system of methodical provocation and threats which Germany called peace, against the system of collective murders and pillagings which Germany calls war, and against the insolent hegemony of the military caste, which let loose the scourge, France, an emancipator and avenger, rose with her Allies at a bound. What was at stake was something more than our life.

Heir as she is to the most formidable burden of glory any people has to bear, France agrees in advance to any sacrifice. Our Allies know it. The neutral nations know it. By an unbridled campaign of false news a vain attempt has been made to wring from the latter the sympathies which we have won.

Germany, which at first professed to be in doubt as to those sympathies, is in doubt no longer. She is also realizing once again that the French Parliament, after more than four months of war, has renewed before the world the spectacle it offered on the day when, in the name of the nation, it accepted the challenge. Let us continue to have one soul, and afterwards, in victorious peace, when we have regained the liberties which now are willingly fettered, we will remember with pride these tragic days which will have made us braver and better men.

RT. HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE

[Speech delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before a great meeting of the Welsh National Conference held at Cardiff on September 29, 1914.]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :—I have the privilege of moving the first resolution on the agenda :—

That Wales, including Monmouthshire, be constituted a military administrative area for the purpose of recruiting and raising the necessary men to form a Welsh Army Corps.

You, my lord, in your opening speech, struck the right note for this meeting when you said it was a business meeting. We are not here to discuss the war, its nature, or its causes. Our business is to consider the best methods of organizing our part of the country so that it shall contribute its fair share to the triumphant issue to which we are looking forward. [Cheers.] Wales has a special interest in the causes of this war. No part of the country has a deeper or more intimate interest. We have declared as an Empire war on the barbarous, brutal doctrine, cynically avowed by Germany, that nations have no rights unless they are powerful enough to enforce them, and that the strong can only be expected to concede justice when it is to their interest to do so. Every sentiment, whether of sympathy, of fellow feeling, every sense of chivalry and fair play, bids Wales to take her part in a warfare which has been so initiated.

You in your speech, my lord, have stated what part Wales has already taken up to the present. It is an honourable one. [Hear, hear.] But we have to do more. In proportion to our population it is incumbent upon us to raise at least 40,000 or 50,000 men in the Principality of Wales as a contribution to the new army, which it is essential should be raised if victory—a victory which is worth having—is to be secured. [Applause.] How are we to go about it? If every able-bodied man in this

country were liable to military service, as they are in Germany, in Russia, and in France, the number of men who would at the present moment be under arms from the Principality of Wales would be at least a quarter of a million. We have escaped conscription. We are not liable to the military tyranny which dominates the Continent. We have the protection of the seas. They roll round us, and here we are in a castle with a magnificent moat splendidly guarded. [Loud applause.] All the more honour to us, therefore, if we voluntarily render service to our country—[hear, hear]—and if 250,000 would have been under arms now in any conscripted country it is not too much to ask for a volunteer army of 50,000—[hear, hear]—and a volunteer army of 50,000 is just as good as a forced army of 250,000. [Loud applause.]

Well, how are we to go about it? We propose in these resolutions—the first of the series of which I am moving—to set up a committee for the purpose of organizing the whole of Wales. The first thing that we have to do is to explain clearly the causes of the war and the overwhelming motives which have impelled this country to enter upon so serious a course. It is not that there is a single man, woman, or child of intelligent years who does not understand, but you have to saturate the minds of the people with the real reasons that moved Britain to embark upon this gigantic operation. There is one special reason for that. There is no time to devote to the training of men—at least there is not sufficient time according to the ordinary rules of training—to convert them into expert soldiers. It takes—I forget how many—a year or two years—in every Continental army I think two years as a minimum. You cannot have that, and, therefore, you have got to make up in zeal, in ardour, in enthusiasm, in the qualities that constitute morale for the defect of training; and that is a very important matter when you go to action. It is only the mere martinet who ignores the immense value of these attributes from a military point of view. Every great soldier has attributed the greatest importance to that.

There have been three, I think, notable instances in fairly recent history when nations have raised in a hurry great armies in order to meet better trained troops than themselves. There is the case of the revolutionary army of France raised in order to drive back the highly-trained troops of Prussia and Austria. There is the case of the civil war in America, and there is the case of 1870, when Gambetta raised huge levies in order to

confront the German invaders. In two out of these three cases the raw levies impelled by zeal and enthusiasm defeated the highly-trained troops. In the third case, I do not believe there is any soldier who will not say that had Gambetta been able to give six months' training to his levies—if he had in addition to that the support of 150,000 trained, seasoned troops—the history of Europe would have been different to what it is to-day. [Applause.] In this case we have got those conditions. The men who will be raised and who will enlist to-day will be able to receive five or six months' training at least before they are sent to the front. In addition to that, they will have the support of the best-trained and most highly disciplined and most effective army on the Continent of Europe to-day, namely, the British Army. [Cheers.] For this purpose you want to secure the best young men of the nation, the cream of the nation, the steady, sober-minded, intelligent young men. It takes less time to convert an intelligent youth into a soldier than a man of less acute intellect. As General Hunter said in his evidence before a Royal Commission about ten years ago: "The intelligent man will pick up in a single day what you can hardly drill into the mind of the other fellow in a year." [Laughter.]

So, therefore, it is important that we should secure the cream of the youth of this country for the purposes of this army. A few men of that type in any battalion improve its quality. [Hear, hear.] They raise the average, they lead their battalion without any additional stripes—[laughter]—they permeate the whole army, and, therefore, in a few months' time, if we can only get the right type of young men to join, you will have one of the most magnificent little armies ever turned out of this country. That is what we are aiming at [Cheers.] In order to do that you must convince the young manhood of this country of the righteousness of the war. [Cheers.] And this committee must take every step for the purpose of attaining that essential object—by meetings, by speeches, by lectures, by literature, by leaflets, by circulating every information, and by putting and presenting in its proper light the real causes that prompted this country to declare war. [Cheers.]

Now, I have only one or two more words to say upon that particular topic. When you are raising a great national democratic army—I mean an army that summons into its ranks every class, every creed, and every rank of life—the

whole of the people rallying to the colours—you must make it clear to every individual soldier that when he goes into action he is drawing his sword for the right. [Cheers.]

The days have gone by when the rulers of the people could issue a proclamation and say, "We have declared war upon such and such a country; it is your duty to fight, to subscribe." Those days are gone. ["Hear, hear," and applause.] The people want to know the reason why, if they are to make sacrifices, and, fortunately, the more thorough their acquaintance with the causes of this war the greater will be the sacrifices they will be prepared to make. [Applause.] After all, conviction is essential to confidence. Confidence is nine parts of courage, and if we want valiant troops we must have men rallying to the flag imbued with the idea that they are going forth in a holy war to do battle for justice and right. [Applause.] They have to face wounds, dismay, death. More, they have got something which wears down the nerves and endurance of troops even more—the wet, cold nights in the trenches night after night, day after day; and their courage must be sustained by a sense that they are fighting for a righteous cause. [Applause.] You must not have them asking at any stage: "What on earth am I enduring all this for?" The next thing they would say would be: "Why on earth should I stand it any longer?"

So, when we enlist our men we must enlist them as the result of a campaign that puts conviction first of all into the heart of every soldier. [Applause.]

You gain three objects in doing so. First of all, you get more recruits; in the second place you get better recruits; and in the third place you would thus make up in morale for the army what it lacks in training. [Hear, hear.] Now, therefore, I hope that one of the very first things the committee will take in hand will be the dissemination of facts with regard to the origin of the war, and also with regard to the barbarous way in which it has been waged by the German Empire. [Applause.] I have seen a good many thousands of the new recruits, and I am very struck by the class of men who continue to come in. I think we are getting the best of the young manhood of the nation. [Applause.] We have got a class of men that is not ordinarily drawn upon for recruiting. I am not saying a word about the British Army as it is. Who can—[cheers]—after the magnificent way in which they have maintained the honour and glory of their native land—[loud ap-

plause]—on the battlefield in France? But you are now getting a class of men who, for economic reasons, were not within the category of those to whom the ordinary appeals would be effective in time of peace. You are getting a class of men together who very often can afford to be better educated. In a case of that kind, the more you can get of them the better it will be for the Army—the more effective will they be as soldiers, and so, first of all, we have got to arouse in our own young men a sense of wrath against the injustice inflicted by our foe in this war. [Applause.] Afterwards we have to convert anger into action in every young man's breast. [Hear, hear.]

Well, now, the next thing I should like to say is this—and I am only putting purely business considerations before you—the recruiting must be continued in every area under the auspices of men who, in the aggregate, command the confidence of every class of the community. [Applause.] If this war is to be successfully waged by us, it must be a national war. [Hear, hear.] You cannot make war with a third or a fourth, and not even with half or two-thirds of a nation, you must have the whole nation to draw upon. In order to secure that you must have the recruiting of men for the new army under the direction and under the guidance of men who in their particular localities command the confidence of every section, every class, every creed, every faith, and every party. That is vital. I think it is very much better we should clear these things out of the way at the start. [“Hear, hear,” and applause.] Now, you must remember this: the ordinary machinery of recruiting is totally inapplicable to the present conditions. [Hear, hear.] You have never had in the whole history of this country anything comparable to it, and I should like to say this to the recruits; some of them are complaining that since they have enlisted they have not had everything spick and span to hand. You must not expect that at first. Nobody could have anticipated—could possibly have anticipated—two months ago that you would have had a rush, not of thousands, not of scores of thousands, but of hundreds of thousands of men, anxious to enlist in the Regular Army of this country to fight. But who would have expected it? Has it ever happened in the history of this country before? I am not sure that it has happened in the history of any other country. To the best of my recollection President Lincoln had to resort to conscription in the end—that is, to the best of my

recollection. I don't think that even in the French Revolution they had anything like the numbers we are getting by voluntary offers of service.

In the Boer War, during the first three months I think the increase in the number of recruits was 10,000 or 15,000, and during the whole of the war, from the beginning to the end, the increase in the number of recruits amounted to 20,000 or 30,000 a year to the Regular Army. You have never had anything like this, and, therefore, the ordinary machinery for the moment must be a little choked and paralysed. The recruiting sergeant is in the habit of getting his men with difficulty. He takes one man here and one man at a great distance away, and gradually he gets his 30,000 or 40,000 a year, I think. [Mr. Llewelyn Williams, M.P.: "Thirty-five thousand."] I was very near it. [Laughter.] He gets his 35,000 a year. It is just like a man who quenches his thirst at a tap which trickles gently. But suddenly there is a great pressure—[laughter]—and the water fills his nostrils, his eyes, his ears, all over him. He is blinded, he is bewildered, he is smothered, and really the recruiting agency, accustomed to deal with a nice, gentle little trickle, finds itself suddenly overwhelmed with a deluge. I hope the recruits and committees will remember that. That is really why we are calling upon civil action to help and assist the committee and the War Department. [Cheers.]

They are just overwhelmed with the material which is placed at their disposal. And, after all, the best recruiting in the world has been done by civilians. [Applause.] I hope no soldier here will be offended. The great recruiting for the French revolutionary armies was done by a lawyer. [Laughter.] And it was such a successful experiment—[laughter]—that President Lincoln set another lawyer to recruit for the Civil War in America. There is some use for lawyers, after all, in a national emergency. [Laughter.] We are, therefore, calling these agencies into account in order to assist. But those agencies must represent the nation as a whole. We are one and indivisible for the purposes of this war. [Loud applause.] What better proof could you have of it than this platform? [Applause.] I have addressed many meetings in this hall. I doubt very much whether at those meetings I have had the privilege of addressing some of those whom I have the honour to address at the present moment. ["Hear, hear," and laughter.] It is the best possible proof that we are prepared to sink all

differences—[applause]—for the purpose of meeting the common foe of our common country. [Applause.]

The only other point I think I would like to say is this, that I think it is important that the recruits should not be misled as to the character of the enterprise that we are engaged in. Tell them what it means. They are not out for a pic-nic. They are out for a stern enterprise, which involves hardship, wounds, and dangers, and men who realize this are worth three of those who go without thinking and without consideration. [Applause.] At the same time there is no need to exaggerate it. [Hear, hear.] The vast majority return from the war to tell the tale, and they will have accumulated experiences which will illumine their lives for ever after. To most people life is dull, grey, and monotonous, and these men will come back with a fund of recollections to draw upon which will cheer and brighten their lives at the dreariest moment, and if you went to one of them afterwards and said, "What will you sell your memory for?" there would not be one who would barter it for all the gold in the Bank of England. [Applause.] I am glad we are moving as a small nationality—[applause]—and I am glad that the War Office have recognized the value of this national sentiment as a military asset. [Applause.] I do not care much for the Prussian junker, but in military matters the Prussian military junker is no fool, and he knows the importance of these territorial inducements when he is organizing his army. He has his various sections—his Bavarians, his Saxons, his Würtembergers, and his Hanoverians—they are all there fighting for their own little corner in the German Empire, and they will fight better for the glory of those particular little provinces, states, and nationalities than they will fight for the great, glorious entity of the German Empire itself. [Applause.]

There was a time when these hills and vales contained one of the most martial little races in Great Britain. [Hear, hear.] England drew largely upon the military material of Wales for its armies in some of the most illustrious episodes in English history. We have ceased in the ordinary sense of the term to be a very martial race. We have been none the worse for that when we have a good cause to fight. Cromwell's Ironsides—[applause]—were most of them farmers and artisans, who had never wielded a sword in their lives and never contemplated it; and yet, with probably less training than Lord Kitchener's new army will get, they were about the finest

warriors in Europe of their day. [Applause.] We will be none the worse soldiers in Wales because the military spirit has not been fostered and encouraged and whetted from childhood upwards as it is in Germany, where they feed their children on gunpowder. [Laughter.] The nation whose spirit is roused by the call to its magnanimity and manly quality will go into action with all the greater heart because for centuries its soul has been cleansed from the mere lust of killing—[cheers]—and I wonder how much Welshmen realize what depends on their action in this hour? In the heat of this great struggle the stamp will be impressed on the Welsh character that will remain for generations and centuries, and the value of the coin which comes from the Welsh hills will be known on every counter by the stamp we put on it to-day. [Cheers.]

It is a colossal struggle. We are called upon to fight, not merely for a noble cause, but in Wales we shall be fighting for the good name and the fair fame of our native hills. [Cheers.] If we fail at this juncture in the history of this great empire—this juncture in the history of human progress in Europe—if we fail through timidity, through ignorance, through indolence—it will take generations before Welshmen will be able to live down the evil repute of faint-heartedness at such an hour. It is an hour of immeasurable destiny. I can see symptoms that the old spirit is still alive in the Welsh hearts. [Cheers.] I have been looking at the list. Twenty thousand, I believe, from Glamorgan. [Lord Pontypridd: "Twenty-four thousand.]"

Mr. Lloyd George: That is better by 4,000, and a great deal more. Is it 8,000 from Monmouthshire? [Sir Ivor Herbert: "Twelve thousand.]"

Mr. Lloyd George: There you are—12,000 and 24,000! Who said Welshmen were faint-hearted? [Voices: "No!" and a cry, "Are we downhearted?"]

Mr. Lloyd George: Glamorgan and Monmouth, at any rate, are ready to answer. We have almost got one army corps! We might start another to-day. Thirty-six thousand men in two months rallied to the flag! [Applause.] It is a great story. I want to see Wales at the top of the list. [Loud applause.] Believe me, I would not be here to-day unless I knew what it means, not merely in the great causes which are involved, but what it means to Wales itself; for, if she comes out, stands manfully by the flag of freedom, fairplay, honest dealing, progress of Europe—if she stands manfully by, then

the sons of Wales will have laid up for their native land treasures of honour and glory, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, where thieves do not break through and steal—[applause]—we shall have had the repute for valour, for chivalry, for courage, for an instinct as to the things which really matter, that will stand Welshmen for all ages as a rich inheritance. [Loud applause.]

RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

[Speech delivered by the First Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons, on February 15, 1915.]

AFTER the outbreak of war my noble friend Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of State for War, had to create an Army eight or ten times as large as any previously maintained, or even contemplated, in this country, and the War Office has been engaged in vast processes of expansion, improvisation, and development entirely without parallel in military experience. Thanks, however, to the generous provision made so readily for the last five years by the House of Commons for the Royal Navy, no such difficulties or labours have confronted the Admiralty.

On the Declaration of War we were able to count upon a Fleet of sufficient superiority for all our needs, with a good margin for safety in vital matters, fully mobilized, placed in its war stations, supplied and equipped with every requirement, down to the smallest detail that could be foreseen, with reserves of ammunition and torpedoes up to and above the regular standard, with ample supplies of fuel and oil, with adequate reserves of stores of all kinds, with complete systems of transport and supply, with full numbers of trained officers and men of all ratings, with a large surplus of reserved and trained men, with adequate establishments for training new men, with an immense programme of new construction rapidly maturing to reinforce the Fleet and replace casualties, and with a pre-arranged system for accelerating that new construction, which has been found to yield satisfactory and even surprising results.

I would draw the attention of the House in illustration to only three particular points. First of all, ammunition. If hon. Members will run their eye along the series of figures for Vote 9, in the last five or six years, and particularly during the latter years, they will see an enormous increase in the Vote. In time of peace one gets little credit for such expenditure, but in time of war we thank God it has been made.



RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
(FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY)



Then, sir, oil. Most pessimistic prophecies were made as to the supply of oil, but no difficulty has been found in practice in that regard. The estimates which we had formed of the quantity of oil to be consumed by the Fleet in war proved to be much larger than our actual consumption. On the other hand, there has been no difficulty whatever in buying practically any quantity of oil. No single oil-ship has been interfered with on passage to this country. The price of oil to-day is substantially below what it was when I last addressed the House on this topic. Indeed, we have found it possible to do what we all along wished to do, but hesitated to decide upon, on account of all the gloomy prophecies and views which were entertained—we have found it possible to convert the *Royal Sovereigns* to a completely oil fuel basis, so that this equally with the *Queen Elizabeth* class will enjoy the great advantages of liquid fuel for war purposes.

Then as to manning. No more widespread delusion existed than that, although we might build ships, we could never find men to man them. In some quarters of this country the idea was fostered that when mobilization took place, ships could not be sent fully manned to sea; but when mobilization did take place we were able to man, as I told the House we should be able, every ship in the Navy fit to send to sea. We were able to man a number of old ships which we did not intend to send to sea, but which, after being repaired and refitted, were found to have the possibility of usefulness in them. We were able to man in addition powerful new vessels building for foreign nations for which no provision had been made. We were able to man an enormous number—several score—of armed merchantmen, which have played an important part in our arrangements for the control of traffic and trade.

We were able to provide all the men that were necessary for the Royal Naval Air Service, which did not exist three years ago, which is already making a name for itself, and which has become a considerable and formidable body. We were able to keep our training schools full to the very brim, so as to prepare a continual supply of drafts for the new vessels which are coming on in such great numbers, and over and above that we are able, without injury to any of these important interests, to supply the nucleus of instructors and trained men to form the cadres of the battalions of the Royal Naval Division, which have now reached a respectable total, and which have developed an efficiency which enables them to be counted on

immediately as a factor in the defence of this country, and very soon as an element in the forces which we can use overseas.

We have never been a military nation, though now we are going to take a hand in that. We have always relied for our safety on naval power, and in that respect it is not true to say we entered on this War unprepared. On the contrary, the German Army was not more ready for an offensive war on a gigantic scale than was the British Fleet for national defence. The credit for this is due to this House, which, irrespective of party interests, has always by overwhelming, and in later years by unchallengeable majorities, supported the Government and the Minister in every demand made for naval defence. Indeed, such disputes as we have had from time to time have only been concerned with the margins of superiority, and have turned on comparatively small points respecting them.

For instance, we have discussed at enormous length what percentages of *Dreadnought* superiority would be available in particular months in future years, and we have argued whether the *Lord Nelsons* should be counted as *Dreadnoughts* or not. The House of Commons as a whole has a right to claim the Navy as its child, and as the unchanging object of its care and solicitude; and now, after six months of war, with new dangers and new difficulties coming into view, we have every right to feel content with the results of our labours.

Since November, when I last had an opportunity of speaking to the House on naval matters, two considerable events have happened—the victory off the Falkland Islands, and the recent successful cruiser action near the Dogger Bank. Both of these events are satisfactory in themselves, but still more are they satisfactory in their consequences and significance, and I shall venture to enlarge upon them and hang the thread of my argument upon them. The victory off the Falklands terminated the first phase of the Naval War, by effecting a decisive clearance of the German flag from the oceans of the world. The blocking in of the enemy's merchantmen at the very outset, and the consequent frustration of his whole plans for the destruction of our commerce, the reduction of his base at Tsing-tau, the expulsion of his ships from the China Sea by Japan, the hunting down of the *Königsberg* and the *Emden*, the latter by an Australian cruiser, were steps along the path to the goal finally reached when Admiral von Spee's powerful squadron, having been unsuccessfully, though gallantly, engaged off Coronel, was brought to action and destroyed on December 8 by Sir Doveton

Sturdee. Only two small German cruisers and two armed merchantmen remain at large of all their formidable preparations for the attack on our trade routes, and these vessels are at present in hiding.

During the last three months—that is to say, since Parliament rose—on the average about 8,000 British vessels have been continuously on the sea, passing to and fro on their lawful vocations. There have been 4,465 arrivals at and 3,600 sailings from the ports of the United Kingdom. Only nineteen vessels have been sunk by the enemy, and only four of these vessels have been sunk by above-water craft. That is a very remarkable result to have been achieved after only a few months of war. I am sure, if we had been told before the war that such a result would be so soon achieved, and that our losses would be so small, we should not have believed it for a moment. I am quite sure, if the noble lord whom I see in his place [Lord Charles Beresford]—who has always felt, and quite legitimately, anxiety for the trade routes and the great difficulty of defending them—if he had been offered six months ago such a prospect he would have said it was too good to be true. [Lord Charles Beresford: “Hear, hear.”]

Certainly the great sailors of the past, the men of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, would have been astounded. During those two great wars, which began in 1793 and ended, after a brief interval, in 1814, 10,871 British merchant ships were captured or sunk by the enemy. Even after the decisive battle of Trafalgar, when we had the undisputed command of the sea, so far as it could be tactically and strategically attained, the loss of British ships went on at a rate of over 500 ships a year. In 1806, 519 ships were sunk or captured—that is, the year after Trafalgar; in 1807, 559; in 1808, 469; in 1809, 671; and in 1810, 619. Our total losses, on the high seas in the first six months of the present War, including all ships other than trawlers engaged in mine-sweeping—including losses by mines and vessels scuttled by submarines—our losses in the whole of that period are only sixty-three.

Of course, we must always be on the look-out for another attempt by the enemy to harass the trade routes. Although the oceans offer rather a bleak prospect to the German cruisers, and the experience of their consorts is not encouraging, the Admiralty must be fully prepared for that possibility, and we shall be able to meet any new efforts with advantages and resources incomparably superior to those which were at our

disposal at the beginning of the War. The truth is that steam and the telegraph have enormously increased, as compared with sailing days, the thoroughness and efficiency of superior sea power. Coaling, communications, and supplies are vital and constant needs, and once the upper hand has been lost they become operations of almost insuperable difficulty to the weaker Navy. Credit is due to our outlying squadrons and to the Admiralty organization by which they have been directed. It must never be forgotten that the situation on every sea, even the most remote, is dominated and decided by the influence of Sir John Jellicoe's Fleet—lost to view amid the northern mists, preserved by patience and seamanship in all its efficiency, silent, unsleeping, and, as yet, unchallenged.

The command of the sea which we have thus enjoyed has not only enabled our trade to be carried on practically without interruption or serious disturbance, but we have been able to move freely about the world very large numbers of troops. The Leader of the Opposition in a speech which he made the other night—I do not at all quarrel with the moderate and temperate tone of his criticism—quoted a letter of a ship-owner, in which the word “incapacity” occurred. Of all the words which could be applied to the Admiralty, as applied to the Admiralty Transport Department, no word could be more unsuitable than the word “incapacity.” I am going to give the House a figure which has no military significance, because so many uncertain factors are comprised within the total, but which is an absolutely definite figure so far as the work of the Admiralty Transport Department is concerned. We have now moved by sea, at home and abroad, including wounded brought back from the front, including Belgian wounded, including Belgian and French troops, moved here and there as circumstances required, often at the shortest possible notice, with constant changes of plan, across oceans threatened by the enemy's cruisers and across channels haunted by submarines, to and fro from India and Egypt, from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, China, South Africa, from every fortress and Possession under the Crown, approximately one million men without, up to the present, any accident or loss of life. If that is “incapacity,” I hope there will be an inexhaustible supply of that quality.

The credit for these arrangements lies very largely with the head of the Admiralty Transport Department, Mr. Graeme Thomson—one of the discoveries of the War, a man who has

stepped into the place when the emergency came, who has formed, organized, and presided over performances and transactions the like of which were never contemplated by any State in history. Indeed, so smoothly and unfailingly has this vast business, the like of which has not been previously witnessed, been carried through, that we have several times been compelled to remind the soldiers whom we serve, and I now think it right to remind the House, that, after all, we are at war.

We are at war with the second Naval Power in the world. When complaints are made that we have taken too many transports or armed too many auxiliary cruisers, or made use of too many colliers or supply ships, I must mention that fact. The statement that the Admiralty have on charter, approximately, about one-fifth of the British Mercantile Marine tonnage is correct. With that we discharge two duties, both of importance at the present time: first, the supply, fuelling, and replenishing with ammunition of the Fleets; second, the transport of reinforcements and supply for the Army in the Field, including the return of wounded. It must be remembered, in regard to the Fleet, that we have no dockyard or naval port at our backs, and that the bases we are using during the War have no facilities for coaling from the shore. We are not, like the Germans, living on a great naval port at Wilhelmshaven, on which £15,000,000 or £16,000,000 has been spent. Rosyth is not finished, and will not be available for some time. Everything, therefore, required to keep the Fleet in being—supplies, stores, and, above all, fuel—has to be not only carried, but kept afloat in ships.

What are called the "afloat reserves"—the great mobile reserves of fuel and stores maintained at the various bases used by the Fleet—are those which are fixed by the War Staff and approved by the Board of Admiralty after consultation with the Commander-in-Chief. When those amounts have been fixed, the Transport Department have no choice but to supply them. It is necessary that there should be sufficient colliers to enable all the Fleet units at a particular base to coal simultaneously with a maximum rapidity twice over within a short interval, and extensive naval movements at high speed may at any moment necessitate this being put to the test. After two such coalings there must still be sufficient coal available for unforeseen contingencies, including delays in bringing

further supplies through storm or foggy weather, or hostile operations leading to the closing of particular areas of water, or through the temporary suspension of coaling in South Wales, through damage to docks, railways, bridges, pits, or other local causes.

We cannot possibly run any risks of having the Fleet rendered immobile. We must make assurance doubly sure. The life of the State depends upon it, and it follows, having always to be ready for a great emergency, with all the Fleet steaming at once continuously for days together—having always to be ready for that, it follows that during periods of normal Fleet movements the reserves of coal are often and necessarily turned over slowly, and colliers may in consequence remain at the bases for considerable periods. That is our system. The fact, therefore, that particular vessels are noticed by shipowners to be kept waiting about for long periods is no sign of mismanagement or incapacity on the part of the Admiralty, but it is an indispensable precaution and method without which the Fleet could not act in a time of emergency. The position at every home coaling base and of every ship is telegraphed to the Admiralty nightly, and a tabulated statement is issued the same night. This statement is issued as the basis for comprehensive daily criticism, with a view to securing the highest possible economy compatible with and subject to the vital exigencies of war. So much for the Fleet and its supply and its coaling.

With regard to the Army, it should be remembered that we are supplying across the sea, in the teeth of the enemy's opposition, an Army almost as large as the Grand Army of Napoleon, only vastly more complex in organization and equipment. We are also preparing other Armies still larger in number. I do not know on what day or at what hour the Secretary of State for War will ask the Admiralty to move 20,000 or it may be 40,000 men. It may be at very short notice. He does not know, until we tell him, how we shall move them, by what route or to what ports. Plans are frequently changed on purpose at the very last moment; it is imperative for the safety of our soldiers and the reinforcement of our Armies and the conduct of the War.

We have at the present moment a powerful and flexible machinery which can move whole Armies with celerity wherever it is desired, in a manner never before contemplated or dreamt of, and I warn the House most solemnly against allow-

ing grounds of commercial advantage or financial economy to place any hampering restriction or impediment upon these most difficult and momentous operations.

Careful and prudent administration does not stop at the outbreak of war. Everything in our power will be done to enforce it and avoid extravagance. We shall, therefore, welcome the advice of business men on points where they can help us. Gradually, as we get more and more control of the situation, higher economy in some respects may be possible, but military and naval requirements must be paramount, rough and ready although their demands often are, and they must be served fully at the cost of all other considerations. I am afraid that I cannot hold out any hope of any immediate reduction in the tonnage required by the Admiralty.

More than a month ago, before these matters were at all ventilated in public, noticing the rise in freights, I directed the Fourth Sea Lord to hold an inquiry into the whole use of merchant ships taken by the Admiralty, including, particularly, transports, colliers, and supplyships, but after the most stringent scrutiny and consultation with the admirals afloat, it was not found possible to make any appreciable reduction; and, indeed, since January 1 the requirements of the Admiralty have actually increased. That is, indeed, only to be expected, as the size of the Fleet and the general scale of the military operations both grow continually.

I am going into this subject a little at length, because it is, I understand, to be the subject of a motion later on in the evening, and I would ask for myself the indulgence of the House to attend to other business of a pressing nature, and leave the conduct of that debate in the hands of my right hon. friend the Financial Secretary. To sum up, then, the retention of a large number of full colliers and ammunition ships in attendance on the Fleet is a naval necessity. The retention of a large number of troop transports is a military necessity. In either case ships may be, and have frequently been, required at an hour's notice for urgent service which might be vital to the success of our operations. Coal must be ready afloat for the Fleet, and troopships must be ready for the men, and no amount of business management, however excellent it may be, will get over that fact.

It seems to me, also, from reading the debate which took place the other night, that the impression existed in the House that the requisitioning of vessels at the outbreak of War was

done recklessly and without consideration of the results to the commerce of the country. The number of ships taken up on the outbreak of War was so enormous, the requirements were so varied, and the need so urgent, that every ship or vessel in port at the moment was taken. Discrimination, save in isolated instances, was therefore impossible.

It may be said that discrimination could have been exercised later. So far as possible this has been, and is being done; but it must be remembered first, that it is generally less disturbing to commerce to retain vessels to whose absence business conditions have been adjusted, than to return these to their owners and take up fresh ships. Secondly, many vessels have been specially fitted for their work by the Government, and to fit others to replace them means delay, and further congestion of docks and works. Also, while substitutes are being fitted, as the first ship cannot be released until the substitute is ready, two ships will be off the market during the period of refitting. Thirdly, it is militarily inconvenient to dispose of ships which the naval and military services have become used to handle, and whose officers and crews have learnt to do this special work.

I can well understand that there may be some discontent among shipowners at present in consequence of Admiralty requisitions. Complaints are made that these requisitions are not fair as between shipowner and shipowner, and that all the tonnage of one line is taken and all the tonnage of another is left alone, and it is held to be a grievance when the Admiralty take the tonnage. But in other wars Admiralty business has been keenly sought after by shipowners. At the beginning of this War shipowners were only too glad to get their ships taken by the Government, owing to the uncertainty of the naval situation and the possibility that ordinary cargoes would not be forthcoming. But now a change has taken place.

The naval situation is assured for the present, and the requisitioning powers exercised under the Royal Proclamation have enabled the Admiralty to insist on rates of hire which, though they give a handsome profit to the shipowner, are very much less than can now be gained in the open market.

The Admiralty rates are now a half or a third below the market rates, and cannot, of course, be expected to be popular with shipowners, although the market rates are enormously higher than they were at the time of the South African War. We are now paying 13s. to 17s. per gross ton per month, com-

pared with 20s. to 35s. so paid in the early part of the South African War. Hence these complaints, and hence this talk of incapacity in certain quarters. I feel it my duty to defend the Admiralty Transport Department. I must, however, say that the general body of shipowners have loyally met the Government and have been content often and often to charter ships to us at rates very much below the market. The Admiralty is deeply indebted to the ship-owning world in general for all the aid and co-operation which we have received, and we regard the closest union and good will between the Admiralty and the mercantile marine as indispensable at the present time.

I have said that the strain in the early months of the War has been greatly diminished now, by the abatement of distant convoy work, and by the clearance of the enemy's flag from the seas and oceans. There were times when, for instance, the great Australian convoy of sixty ships was crossing the Indian Ocean, or the great Canadian convoy of forty ships, with its protecting squadrons, was crossing the Atlantic, or when the regular flow of large Indian convoys of forty or fifty ships sailing in company was at its height both ways, when there were half a dozen minor expeditions being carried by the Navy, guarded and landed at different points and supplied after landing; when there was a powerful German cruiser squadron still at large in the Pacific or the Atlantic, which had to be watched for and waited for in superior force in six or seven different parts of the world at once, and when, all the time, within a few hours' steam of our shores, there was concentrated a hostile fleet which many have argued in former times was little inferior to our own; and when there was hardly a Regular soldier left at home, and before the Territorial Force and the new Armies had attained their present high efficiency and power—there were times when our naval resources, considerable as they are, were drawn out to their utmost limit, and when we had to use old battleships to give strength to cruiser squadrons, even at the cost of their speed, and when we had to face and to accept risks with which we did not trouble the public, and which no one would willingly seek an opportunity to share.

But the victory at the Falkland Islands swept all these difficulties out of existence. It set free a large force of cruisers and battleships for all purposes; it opened the way to other operations of great interest; it enabled a much stricter control

and more constant outlook to be maintained in Home waters, and it almost entirely freed the outer seas of danger. That was a memorable event, the relief and advantage of which will only be fully appreciated by those who have full knowledge of all that has taken place, by those who not only knew, but felt, what was going forward.

Now I come to the battle cruiser action off the Dogger Bank. This action was not fought out, because the enemy, after abandoning their wounded consort, the *Blücher*, made good their escape into waters infested by their submarines and mines. But this combat between the finest ships in both navies is of immense significance and value in the light which it throws upon rival systems of design and armament, and upon relative gunnery efficiency. It is the first test we have ever had, and, without depending too much upon it, I think it is at once important and encouraging. First of all it vindicates, so far as it goes, the theories of design, and particularly of big-gun armament, always identified with Lord Fisher. The range of the British guns was found to exceed that of the German. Although the German shell is a most formidable instrument of destruction, the bursting, smashing power of the heavier British projectile is decidedly greater, and—this is the great thing—our shooting is at least as good as theirs.

The Navy, while working very hard—no one, except always themselves, knows how hard they have worked in these years—have credited the Germans with a sort of super-efficiency in gunnery, and we have always been prepared for some surprises in their system of control and accuracy of fire. But there is a feeling, after the combat of January 24, that perhaps our naval officers were too diffident in regard to their own professional skill in gunnery. Then the guns. While the Germans were building 11-inch guns we built 12-inch and 13½-inch guns. Before they advanced to the 12-inch gun we had large numbers of ships armed with the 13·5. It was said by the opposite school of naval force that a smaller gun fires faster and has a higher velocity, and therefore the greater destructive power—and Krupp is the master gunmaker of the world—and it was very right and proper to take such a possibility into consideration. Everything that we have learnt, however, so far shows that we need not at all doubt the wisdom of our policy or the excellence of our material. The 13·5 inch gun is unequalled by any weapon yet brought on the scene. Now we have the 15-inch gun, with which the five *Queen Elizabeths* and the five

Royal Sovereigns are all armed, coming into line, and this gun in quality equals the 13·5 inch gun, and is vastly more powerful and destructive.

There is another remarkable feature of this action to which I should like to draw the attention of the House. I mean the steaming of our ships. All the vessels engaged in this action exceeded all their previous records without exception. I wonder if the House and the public appreciate what that means. Here is a squadron of the Fleet which does not live in harbour, but is far away from its dockyards, and which during six months of war has been constantly at sea. All of a sudden the greatest trial is demanded of their engines, and they all excel all previous peace-time records. Can you conceive a more remarkable proof of the excellence of British machinery, of the glorious industry of the engine-room branch, or of the admirable system of repairs and refits by which the Grand Fleet is maintained from month to month, and can, if need be, be maintained from year to year in a state of ceaseless vigilance without exhaustion? Take the case of the *Kent* at the Falklands. The *Kent* is an old vessel. She was launched thirteen years ago and has been running ever since. The *Kent* was designed to go $23\frac{1}{2}$ knots. The *Kent* had to catch a ship which went considerably over $24\frac{1}{2}$ knots. They put a pressure and a strain on the engines much greater than is allowed in time of peace, and they drove the *Kent* 25 knots, and caught the *Nürnberg* and sank her.

It is my duty in this House to speak for the Navy, and the truth is that it is sound as a bell all through. I do not care where or how it may be tested: it will be found good and fit and keen and honest. It will be found to be the product of good management and organization, of sound principle in design and strategy, of sterling workmen and faithful workmanship, and careful clerks and accountants, and skilful engineers, and painstaking officers, and hardy tars.

The great merit of Admiral Sir David Beatty's action is that it shows us and the world that there is at present no reason to assume that, ship for ship, gun for gun, and man for man, we cannot give a very good account of ourselves. It shows that at five to four in representative ships—because the quality of the ships on either side is a very fair representation of the relative qualities of the lines of battle—the Germans did not think it prudent to engage, that they accepted without doubt or hesitation their inferiority, that they thought only of flight

just as our men thought only of pursuit, that they were wise in the view they took, and that if they had taken any other view they would, unquestionably, have been destroyed. That is the cruel fact, which no falsehood—and many have been issued—no endeavour to sink by official communiqués vessels they could not stay to sink in war, can obscure.

When, if ever, the great Fleets draw out for general battle, we shall hope to bring into the line a preponderance, not only in quality, but in numbers, which will not be five to four, but will be something considerably greater than that. Therefore, we may consider this extra margin as an additional insurance against unexpected losses by mine and submarine, such as may at any moment occur in the preliminaries of a great sea battle. It is for these important reasons of test and trial that we must regard this action of the Dogger Bank as an important and, I think I may say, satisfactory event.

The losses of the Navy, although small compared with the sacrifices of the Army, have been heavy. We have lost, mainly by submarine, the lives of about 5,500 officers and men, and we have killed, mainly by gun-fire, an equal number, which is, of course, a much larger proportion of the German forces engaged. We have also taken, in sea fighting, eighty-two officers and 934 men prisoners of war. No British naval prisoners of war have been taken in fighting at sea by the Germans. When they had the inclination they had not the opportunity, and when they had the opportunity they had not the inclination. For the loss of these precious British lives we have lived through six months of this War safely and even prosperously. We have established for the time being a command of the sea such as we had never expected, such as we had never known, and our ancestors had never known, at any other period of our history. There are those who, shutting their eyes to all that has been gained, look only at that which has been lost, and seek—they are not a very numerous class—to dwell unduly upon it.

We are urged to hold a court-martial in every case where a ship is lost in action, and to hear the talk in some quarters one would suppose that the loss of a ship by mine or submarine necessarily involved a criminal offence. [Mr. Chamberlain: No, no.] Not in the quarters which the right hon. gentleman frequents perhaps. One would suppose that it involves a criminal offence, for which somebody should be brought to book. The Admiralty have lately given careful consideration to this question. No doubt the precedents, both in peace and war,

favour, though they do not enjoin, the holding of a court-martial when ships are lost or captured ; but the circumstances and conditions of modern naval warfare are entirely different from all previous experience. In old wars the capture or destruction of ships was nearly always accompanied by an act of surrender, which was a proper and very necessary subject for investigation by court-martial.

But mines and submarines, especially submarines, create conditions entirely novel, presenting to naval officers problems of incomparable hazard and difficulty. In these circumstances a court-martial would frequently be inappropriate, in our judgment, and often even harmful. Losses by mine and submarine must frequently be placed on the same footing as heavy casualties on land. They cannot be treated as presumably involving a dereliction of duty or a lack of professional ability. Thirdly, the speed and skill of modern operations, and the continuous demands on the attention of the Admiralty and on the services of naval officers, especially officers of high rank, make the actual holding of courts-martial very difficult and inconvenient. Energy ought not to be consumed in investigations and discussions of incidents beyond recall, but should be concentrated on new tasks and new difficulties.

Nothing could be worse for the Navy or the Admiralty than for public attention or naval attention to be riveted on half a dozen naval *causes célèbres* which would give opportunities for most acrimonious and controversial discussions, and about which you may be perfectly certain two opinions would always remain at the close. When a clear case of misconduct or failure in duty can be presumed, a court-martial may be necessary. When technical or special matters are raised, which it is desirable to elucidate with a view to precautions being taken to prevent similar accidents in the future, Courts of Inquiry have been, and will be, assembled ; but in all these matters I must respectfully claim, on behalf of the Board of Admiralty, an absolute discretionary power with regard to holding courts-martial, or Courts of Inquiry, or the removal without trial of officers who have forfeited the confidence of the Board, or the publication of particular information on particular incidents. I ask the House, on behalf of the Board, for their confidence and support during the War in this respect. I would especially deprecate anything being done which tends to make officers, whether afloat or at the Admiralty, play for safety and avoid responsibility for positive action.

Losses have to be incurred in war, and mistakes will certainly be made from time to time. Our Navy keeps the sea ; our ships are in constant movement ; valuable ships run risks every day. The enemy is continually endeavouring to strike, and from time to time accidents are inevitable. How do you suppose the battle-cruiser squadron of Sir David Beatty was where it was when the action of January 24 took place ? How many times is it supposed that the squadrons of the Grand Fleet, the cruiser and battle squadrons, have been patrolling and steaming through the North Sea, always exposed to risk by mine and torpedo, before at last they reaped their reward ?

If any mood or tendency of public opinion arises, or is fostered by the newspapers, or given countenance in this House, which makes too much of our losses, even if they are cruel losses, and even if it may be said that they are in some respects avoidable losses, then I say you will have started on a path which, pressed to its logical conclusion, would leave our Navy cowering in its harbours, instead of ruling the seas. When I think of the great scale of our operations, the enormous target we expose, the number of ships whose movements have to be arranged for, the novel conditions to which I have referred, it is marvellous how few have been our losses, and how great the care and vigilance exercised by the admirals afloat and by the Admiralty Staff, and it appears to me, and it will certainly be regarded by those who study this War in history, as praiseworthy in the highest degree.

The tasks which lie before us are anxious and grave. We are, it now appears, to be the object of a kind of warfare which has never before been practised by a civilized State. The scuttling and sinking at sight, without search or parley, of merchant ships by submarine agency is a wholly novel and unprecedented departure. It is a state of things which no one had ever contemplated, and which would have been universally reprobated, and repudiated, before this War. But it must not be supposed, because the attack is extraordinary, that a good defence and a good reply cannot be made. The statutes of ancient Rome contained no provision for the punishment of parricide, but when the first offender appeared it was found that satisfactory arrangements could be made to deal with him.

Losses no doubt will be incurred—of that I give full warning—but we believe that no vital injury can be done. If our traders put to sea regularly and act in the spirit of the gallant

captain of the merchant ship *Laertes*, whose well-merited honour has been made public this morning, and if they take the precautions which are proper and legitimate, we expect that the losses will be confined within manageable limits, even at the outset, when the enemy must be expected to make his greatest effort to produce an impression.

All losses can of course be covered, by resort on the part of shipowners to the Government insurance scheme, the rates of which are now one-fifth of what they were at the outbreak of War. On the other hand, the reply which we shall make will not perhaps be wholly ineffective. Germany cannot be allowed to adopt a system of open piracy and murder, or what has always hitherto been called open piracy and murder, on the high seas, while remaining herself protected by the bulwark of international instruments which she has utterly repudiated and defied, and which we, much to our detriment, have respected.

There are good reasons for believing that the economic pressure which the Navy exerts is beginning to be felt in Germany. We have to some extent restricted their imports of useful commodities like copper, petrol, rubber, nickel, manganese, antimony, which are needed for the efficient production of war materials, and for carrying on modern war on a great scale. The tone of the German Chancellor's recent remarks, and the evidences of hatred and anger against this country which are so apparent in the German Press, encourage us to believe that this restriction is proving inconvenient. We shall, of course, redouble our efforts to make it so.

So far, however, we have not attempted to stop imports of food. We have not prevented neutral ships from trading direct with German ports. We have allowed German exports in neutral ships to pass unchallenged. The time has come when the enjoyment of these immunities by a State which has, as a matter of deliberate policy, placed herself outside all international obligations, must be reconsidered. A further declaration on the part of the allied Governments will promptly be made which will have the effect for the first time of applying the full force of naval pressure to the enemy.

I thank the House for the attention with which they have listened to me. The stresses and strains of this War are not imperceptible to those who are called on to bear a part in the responsibility for the direction of the tremendous and terrible events which are now taking place. They have a right to the

generous and indulgent judgment and support of their fellow-countrymen, and to the goodwill of the House of Commons. We cannot tell what lies before us, or how soon or in what way the next great developments of the struggle will declare themselves, or what the state of Europe and the world will be at its close.

But this I think we can already say, as far as the British Navy is concerned, that, although no doubt new dangers and perplexities will come upon us continuously, and anxiety will make its abode in our brain, yet the dangers and anxieties which now are advancing upon us will not be more serious or more embarrassing than those through which we have already successfully made our way. For during the months that are to come the British Navy and the sea power which it exerts will increasingly dominate the general situation, will be the main and unfailing reserve of the allied nations, will progressively paralyse the fighting energies of our antagonists, and will, if need be, even in default of all other favourable forces, ultimately, by itself, decide the issue of the War.

EARL OF ROSEBERY

[Speech at a great Recruiting Meeting in St. Andrews Hall, Glasgow, on December 9, 1914, supported by the Lord Provost and magistrates.]

MY LORD PROVOST AND GENTLEMEN—for I understand if any of the other sex are present they are only here as interlopers—[laughter]:—I confess that though you, my Lord Provost, say that I accepted your invitation with alacrity, that was not my sensation in writing. [Laughter.] I felt some alarm, not having spoken for a long time to a large audience in a large hall, at the idea of going to Glasgow; but the sight of this meeting has removed all my fears, because this meeting does not want a speech. The meeting is a speech itself. [Cheers.] I have many fond recollections of this hall—of many splendid meetings, especially when Mr. Gladstone was here on his first visit—[cheers]—but I never remember a meeting greater, or perhaps even to equal this. Well, that is a great consideration, and I trust you will bear with me for a very short time that I may deliver the message which has brought me to Glasgow. I have been invited by men of respectability and even of eminence to dilate upon football, and upon temperance, but I shall not follow these lengthy and devious paths, which might take hours for discussion without leading to any very harmonious result. I avoid thorny paths. But before coming to the main purport of what I may call my message I will make three practical remarks with regard to this question of recruiting. The first is to echo very earnestly the words you my Lord Provost have said about the necessity of filling up the gaps in the existing Territorial battalions before proceeding to start any new ones. In Edinburgh recently Sir George McCrae has achieved a great success—[cheers]—on which we all heartily congratulate him, in having formed a new battalion of the Royal Scots. But the Reserve battalions of the Royal Scots are, with one exception, not nearly up to strength. One may say indeed of the raising

of the new battalions : These things ought ye to have done ; others ought ye not to have left undone. I hope in Edinburgh and Glasgow, before any new battalions are now started, that care will be taken to fill up the existing ones to their full strength. [Cheers.] And may I say I think this is only their due ? The existing Territorial regiments have worked in time of peace and given their strength and their leisure to the service of their country. [Cheers.] They have really a higher claim upon us than those who have only enlisted since the war. [Hear, hear.]

Well, the second point, on which you did not touch, my Lord Provost, is the extreme expediency of raising one or more bantam battalions. [Cheers.] I am very strongly of opinion—I may be prejudiced—that a short man for every purpose of life is as good, and better than, a tall one. [Laughter and cheers.] The only purpose in which he is at a disadvantage is seeing in a crowd, and after all, that is only an accidental circumstance, and I venture to say that, for every practical purpose, a man of five feet in good health will make just as good a soldier as a man of six. In the third point I am venturing on more dangerous ground. I have come to the melancholy conviction, Lowlander as I am, that the best recruiting dress is the kilt. [Cheers.] I am not at all sure that much as I admire the kilt, if in the trenches I should not prefer the trews—[laughter]—but I am afraid that we cannot but acknowledge, and I do not know why we should desire to deny it, that there is nothing so magnificent in our Army as the swing of a kilted regiment, and I myself feel a violent wish to enlist and have the youth to enlist whenever I see one pass. [Cheers.] Now, can we accept that doctrine that our Scottish regiments should be kilted regiments ? [Cries of “ Yes ” and “ No. ”] I think I hear Bailie Nicol Jarvie—[laughter]—to whom, no doubt, it would be a grave trial to think it would be possible in the streets of Glasgow to meet a kilted regiment not there either for blackmail or for plunder, but we must submit to the exigencies of the time. Our kilt is a noble dress, and I am quite certain that, Lowlander and Highlander, there is none so near to the hearts of the Scottish people. [Cheers.]

Now I come to the more immediate purpose I am here for. I think on the nation to-day there is a twofold responsibility. There is the awful responsibility resting on every able, healthy, and competent man of due age to give his best services to his country. [Hear, hear.] That no one can blind himself to,



EARL OF ROSEBERY

and no one can deny. It is a matter, indeed, between himself and his conscience. Greater responsibility was never placed upon man than is placed upon natives of Great Britain at this time. There is another responsibility, perhaps, which devolves on those who cannot enlist, on the maimed, the halt, and the aged. I purposely did not say the blind, because there is a proverb about the blind leading, which might give rise to some suspicion as to the validity of my mission. But there is this responsibility on those who cannot enlist when you have had, as we unfortunately have, the age and experience—I observe as usual, my Lord Provost, you have alluded to me as senior burgess of the city of Glasgow, and it has become so familiar to me, this remark, that I have come to feel like the grandmother of the city of Glasgow—[laughter]—there is a responsibility on us with age and experience to point out what people seem insensible to, largely insensible to, though you would not think so from this meeting, that is, the awful nature of the crisis in which our country finds itself to-day. Where I live, in a remote countryside, man goes forth to his labour till the evening, the ploughing goes on, all the operations of agriculture, and except for a searchlight at night occasionally, you could not dream that we were living in other than in times of profound peace. It is a sparse neighbourhood, and therefore it is easy to entertain that delusion. But I suppose if I had come to Glasgow to-day and been in Buchanan Street at noon I should have seen the customary crowd hustling and bustling about after their business, seeking what none of us is ever destined to find—that little more which will satisfy us. I suppose that, as that crowd passed along, they might cast a casual glance on the placard announcing the news in the morning or the evening papers, very much with the air with which you look at the theatrical placard announcing that *Macbeth* or *King Lear*, or some great tragedy of that kind is going to be enacted, at which you may take a seat if you like, as your whim pleases. Do we then realize? I ask every man here, does he realize that within twenty-five miles of the southern coast of this island a battle is raging, and has been raging for three months, and may, for all I know, rage for three years more, on which our safety, our future, the existence of our country, our Empire, are staked on the hazard? [Cheers.] It is not a battle, a campaign, a few battles to be lost or won, perhaps a province to be annexed, such as the battles you read of in history. It is a battle of life or death. [Hear, hear.]

If you win you may not do more than continue to exist and develop, but if you lose you are shattered and damned. [Loud cheers.]

Now let me take you for one moment from that aspect of the case to the history of this war. I am not going into the old details you have heard so often about the Note to Servia and that business, but it does become necessary when I have addressed such an appeal to you, to ask how is it we are involved in this vital struggle for our existence? How is it we have staked everything on such a hazard as that? Well, all I can say, in the first place, is, we exhausted every effort for peace. [Cheers.] Sir Edward Grey, as representing the Government—[cheers]—exhausted every means, and I honestly do believe if he had had two or three days more, and honest Governments to work with, he would have achieved his object. Whatever efforts he made there was one Power which had the greatest influence in Europe, and which might have preserved peace—there was one Power which would never second his efforts, and that was Germany. Nay, more, at the very moment when Austria and Russia had been brought to exchange views, when Austria renounced solemnly all prospect of territorial acquisition, and when she was in conversation with Russia as to the terms on which guarantees might be given to Austria, when there was really a fair prospect of peace, what did peace-loving Prussia do? She sent an ultimatum to Russia across these negotiations, to make certain that war must take place. [Cheers.] The Chancellor of Germany made a speech the other day, which you may have read, in which he put an entirely new aspect on the case—a different aspect, in fact, from that which he put on in the beginning of the war. In the beginning of the war he said he had done wrong. He admitted he had committed a gross breach of public law and the rules that govern neutrality in Europe. He said he hoped to be able to atone for it. He has atoned for it. He has ravaged the country he promised to guarantee. He has destroyed every historic building; he has driven out the whole populations; and that is atoning for the breach of neutrality which he confessed at first. In this second speech all that disappears. He was a guilty penitent then; now he is the one person who promoted peace, and the devil, the demon, the wicked, and venomous Power that all the time interfered with his benevolent efforts, and schemed the war, was the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. [Laughter.]

I care very little, gentlemen, about that sort of construction. As the Irishman said, "You cannot turn your back upon yourself"—[laughter]—and even the Chancellor of the German Empire cannot perform that remarkable acrobatic feat. [Laughter.]

As regards the causes of the war, our hands are pure and clean, our conscience is clear—[cheers]—and we may safely leave to the verdict history shall pronounce upon our efforts on our intervention with regard to the beginning of this war. [Cheers.] Why did the Chancellor make this speech? He cannot have expected anybody to believe it, not even the audience which he addressed, though that has been abundantly fed on falsehood ever since the beginning of the war. I think he did it because he wanted a new stimulus to the hatred of this country which is now felt in Germany. It was for that he invented this new theory of the beginning of the war. The hatred certainly exists, and it is a factor in our future which we cannot afford to neglect. But the hatred has been one of long standing. For years at the Prussian messes the officers have drunk as their supreme toast, "The Day." What day? The day of the utter humiliation and defeat of Great Britain. [Cheers.] But there is an additional reason for that hatred now which makes it mount at compound interest. We have spoilt their game. [Cheers.] Their idea was to march into France and get rid of the hostility of France—a successful campaign of a week or ten days—then fall on Russia and annihilate Russia, as the armies of Germany are by far, I suppose, the best organized and best drilled in the world, and when those two great rivals had been annihilated the course would have been simple and easy to march on Great Britain, and make an end of that too presumptuous Empire which threatened to vie in commerce and prosperity with God-given Germany. [A voice—"Never."]

Well, with or without this hatred, whatever the cause of it may be, we have to face the fact that the two Empires—because it is intrinsically they who are facing each other—the two Empires are ranged in a death-struggle, a struggle of life or death, and nothing less; we have to realize that the two Empires are facing each other in a contest for supremacy and existence, the contest for the supremacy of two contending principles, one of liberty and the other of oppression, a contest for existence between two Empires that are not accustomed or willing to submit. Is not that a sufficiently

formidable crisis for you, gentlemen? Is that not something that you may take back to your homes, and may consider as the vital purpose which at this moment is governing, and must govern, your lives. When we think of this contest we must think of the forces in support of each Empire. I suppose that, as regards the British Empire in the field, the odds are as twenty to one at least on behalf of the German Army. That is to say, putting your fleet for the moment out of the question, because a fleet cannot fight on dry land—that as regards your Army you are only about as one to twenty of the Germans, and that even with the assistance of your Allies of France and Belgium, you are only able practically to maintain yourselves on the western frontier—that is to say, a case of stalemate. Well, of course, that is not a very wonderful circumstance when you come to think of it, a million and a half of armed men in trenches trying to push out say another million and a half of armed men in trenches cannot lead to any very conspicuous result. It must simply mean a dull push and bombardment from one side to the other. But stalemate, though it is honourable and creditable to our Army, wonderfully so, considering its resources, is not enough. When you consider what you have at stake, one to twenty is not enough. What you have to do in order to achieve any permanent success and any prompt or satisfactory peace, is to send many hundreds of thousands more men into the field—[cheers]—so as to be able to invade German soil—[cheers]—and to inflict a crushing blow upon that invader.

Gentlemen, our stake in this war is not less than the stake of Germany, not less than the stake of Austria. But Germany and Austria have every valid man in the field; we, a percentage. [Hear, hear.] Our stakes are the same, but what we put down to support them is very different. [Hear, hear.] Can we, indeed, hope for a result such as we have a right to expect, and which I am confident will be attained when the conscience of the nation is aroused—[cheers]—can we expect to attain the result which we have a right to expect until we have many more men in the field than we yet have? We have no right to complain of recruiting in Scotland or in Glasgow. Both of them, as percentages of the population, figure very well. We must have more than that, if we are to win, and I do not suppose anybody in this assembly admits that “if.” Well, I can hear men say, who are rightly attached to peace—because I think every sensible man must have a

passion for peace when he sees the horrors of war—"But we ought to fight only in defence." But that is what we are doing. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] We are fighting in defence, and the only possible defence in this war is complete victory, complete conquest. [Loud cheers.] Now, of course, we must take into consideration all the chances of war. There is a chance, a reasonable chance, which has very often been presented to us of a raid—that is to say, that the Germans, who have any number of men at their disposal, and who have, besides, in strict seclusion a powerful fleet—[laughter]—might think it well to ask all these men, and I think the Germans, who are brave men, would willingly give their lives, in order by a raid to destroy and humiliate as much as they could of Great Britain. Well, you know what has happened in Belgium. Belgium has been devastated by the Power which guaranteed its existence, but what was done in Belgium would be a joke to what would be done in Scotland, if they got here. They were animated by no hatred of Belgium. They now speak as if they were exceedingly fond of Belgium, but they make no disguise of their hatred of us and be assured, gentlemen, in your reason, that whatever they did in Belgium would be multiplied one hundredfold, if they were so fortunate as to set foot in Scotland.

Another point—I shall not detain you much longer—[cries of "Go on," and cheers]—but there is another point. What we want after all, besides security, is peace; the promptest and most satisfactory peace that we can obtain. In fact, I think that we are determined that we will not lay down our arms until we have attained peace. [Cheers.] The only way to obtain peace is to have an overwhelming force in the field. [Cheers.] Make no mistake about the Germans. We have seen all sorts of things in the papers about their surrendering easily, and so forth. Every man who has met them in war, and in this war, is loud in praise of their courage, passive courage perhaps, but determined and unflinching courage. But when you are going to meet millions of men like that, in order to obtain security and peace you must have millions to oppose them. You will not with a very inferior force defeat the Germans. All that you will have will be this, that your war will go on dragging and straggling until all the parties to it are dead of exhaustion, and then they are forced to come to some sort of conventional arrangement, which may enable them sometime to live again. Before that time comes I

venture to say you will have poured out unavailingly, because too late, the men who are wanted now and who must be again, if you hope to secure a prompt and satisfactory peace. [Cheers.] I say that our supreme object being a quick and decisive peace, the only means that can bring it about are quick and decisive successes, and these can only be obtained by more men being sent to the front. [Cheers.]

Let me take another point. We must take all the chances of war. Suppose we get a defeat ! I can perceive, and I am happy to perceive that dead silence greets that hypothesis, no one here will believe it possible ; but if people don't believe it to be possible, they must take care to make it impossible. You cannot with a small Army fight those millions of brave and skilful men and avert the danger of defeat. Suppose defeat were to happen ? Has any man in this hall ever realized what it would mean to this country ? I do not suppose we would be annexed to Prussia, but I am certain of this, a defeat would mean the annihilation of the British Empire, and it would mean the reduction of Great Britain to be a subservient State, with an Army limited by agreement, with a Navy limited by agreement, a country which had once been a great country living as a province on sufferance. I ask, Would anybody in this hall care to survive that moment ? [Cries of " No."] Then, if you don't care to survive it, you must provide against it. [Cheers.] Scotsmen, if I read my countrymen's character aright, do not like to leave anything to chance in their business. They are supposed to be almost too cautious, because of that national characteristic ; but they are not then surely going to leave the whole issue of the safety and future of this Empire to chance. Are they not when they leave this hall to-night going as far as they can to guarantee that our fates and fortunes shall not be left to chance ? [Cheers.] Well, I hope it is so. I cannot believe that it will be otherwise. I am quite certain that the men of Glasgow, the men of Scotland, ay, and the men of England, too, have only got to realize what the position really is, and I can state from the bottom of my heart that I have not overstated it to-night. They have only got to realize what the position is, and there will be no difficulty about recruiting. I daresay that I have failed to bring it home to you, but had I the tongue of men or of angels I could say no more than I have to bring home to your hearts and consciences the nature of the crisis in which we are involved at this moment.

It is a war for existence being waged just as truly in Flanders as if you were fighting in Lanarkshire at home. [Hear, hear.] Every man must do his best, from the oldest to the youngest, to maintain our part in that contest. For his part he is answerable to God and to his country. [Cheers.] Sons of Glasgow, sons of Scotland, sons of the Empire, stand forth now, and do your duty to Glasgow, to Scotland, and to the Empire. [Cheers.] You have now the chance of your lives. In a few weeks, if you enrol yourselves soon, you may all be heroes, for every one of our soldiers in the trenches at this moment is a hero—[loud cheers]—and you will remain heroes for the rest of your lives. Whatever your span of existence may be, long or short, I say with confidence that you will never regret for a single instant having taken the part that I venture to urge upon you. If, on the other hand, you should decide to hold aloof in the time of your country's anguish and distress, if you permit others to do that fighting for you, which you are unwilling to do for yourselves, if you are ready to leave the wearisome, irksome, and perilous work of the trenches to persons more public-spirited, I will say more heroic, than yourselves, I will predict with at least equal confidence that you will be laying up for yourselves for the rest of your existence a life-long, unending, and bitter remorse. [Cheers.] I should have no fear for the issue—I have no fear for the issue now except that lethargy may retard it—I have no fear for the issue if we only stand true to ourselves and face the truth and realize the vital importance of the crisis in which we are destined to live.

Come the four corners of the world in arms
And we shall shock them ; naught shall make us rue
If Britain to herself do rest but true.

[Loud cheers.]

WILL CROOKS

[Speech at a great recruiting meeting held in the Market Hall,
Aberdare, on February 9, 1915.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—In these days we cannot have public meetings because there is no one to abuse. [Laughter.] So we have ceased to hold them ; and instead we have family parties. We are all one happy family. There's only one who doesn't understand us, and that's the Kaiser. He doesn't know much about us—but he will do. He will understand us later on. [Applause.] So in this large family we have left off talking about Sally Binks's father-in-law, and other domestic matters. [Laughter.] We have lined up front square against a common enemy. There are, unfortunately, still a few people in the world not yet certified, who think that we should be as well off under the Kaiser as under George V. We shall see, when I am done, whether you think so. I daresay there is hardly a man—certainly not a woman—in this vast family party who will not agree with me when I say that wages have gone up during the past ten or fifteen years, and you are no better off. Do you know why ? Because you have to spend your money to meet the Kaiser ; so he has actually got indoors with you. Ninepence out of every shilling he has done you for. [Laughter.] What a wonderful fellow he is ! Didn't your blood run a little faster last Sunday week, when you read that a German submarine had sunk five British ships. There's Kultur ! There's valour for you ! [Laughter.] Five merchantmen gone down ! Weren't you frightened ? I tell you what I think. It reminds me of the village bully, who used to terrify everybody : “ Bring 'em out, any size, any colour, under nine or over ninety.” [Loud laughter.] “ Bring 'em out ; we're ready for 'em,” says the Kaiser. There's valour for you. Wonderful and marvellous, is it not ? [Laughter.]

But, you know, the Kaiser is really a wonderful man. When he was a dear little chap, five years old, he was taken to the

wedding of King Edward and Queen Alexandra. They could not keep him quiet, so they sat him between two ambassadors, and he slipped down and bit their calves. Nice boy! [Loud laughter.] Dear little lad! [Renewed laughter.] Then when he came to power he commenced to do great things. He even wrote poetry. [Laughter.] Shelley, Schiller, Wordsworth, Goethe, and Browning weren't in it. Anybody but the Kaiser would have been hanged for it. [Laughter.] Then he painted. My word, what genius! All the newspapers wasted gallons of ink and tons of paper. Rubens, Herkomer, Collier, and all the great painters weren't in it beside the Kaiser. [Laughter.] Do you know, I once had my picture painted, and it was presented to me in public. When it was over I said nice things about the painter, and the paint especially. [Laughter.] I left the platform hugging the picture to my breast, when a dear old lady said, "Turn it around, Mr. Crooks." I did. She looked at it, and said, "My God!" and fainted. [Roars of laughter.] Now, if the Kaiser had painted that, I should have been hung in the National Gallery.

We did everything to please the Kaiser. We gave him a little island called Heligoland to keep him quiet, as something to play with, and then he went and hid his fleet behind it and wouldn't come out. The Germans hate us now more than ever they did before. What have we done? I can well remember the Franco-German War, and for forty-four years we have been living in mortal terror of German militarism. Don't think, you know it is true. So we formed a German friendship. We inaugurated peace associations, brotherhood leagues, etc. We said, "If you please, be so kind, always think of us; we are always cousins, and help us when we are in trouble," and the Kaiser said, "Oh! we'll think it over." [Laughter.] I once proposed the health of the Kaiser. Think of that. [Laughter.] Fancy walking about with that on your conscience. [Laughter.] It's like buying a purse with a shilling in it, and finding three ha'pence. One blessed Sunday morning we gathered in a hall in Berlin, and the chairman had not uttered half a dozen sentences when the military came in and took possession of the meeting. It was a peace meeting! How would you like that, you men who think you would do as well under the Kaiser as under George V? [Applause.] There were four million Socialists and trade unionists in Germany when the war broke out, and only a solitary one raised his voice in opposition. When our men

wanted help, they went to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Bonar Law, and said, "Look here, this war is likely to bring trouble and distress in certain districts, and we must make some provision for it. Result, £90,000 has been paid over by the British Government at the request of the British trade unionists. [Cheers.] Could the trade unionists of Germany have got that? No, the Kaiser is minding their money for them. [Laughter.] He has invested it in war loans, and if—if—they want it, he may give it them back, you know. [Laughter.] Think of that, you men who say you would do as well under the Kaiser as under George V.

Then look at South Africa; there Dr. Poutzma, who was exiled by the South African Government, and had a just grievance, has joined the Army. With all its faults, he prefers British to German rule. "Are you going to hesitate now? I have been round the world twice—but not at my own expense." [Laughter.] I am only saying that to stop you saying it. [Renewed laughter.] I went at the invitation of the National Parliament of Australia. There were twenty legislators chosen by the Speaker of the House. They chose eight Liberals, eight Tories, three Lords—and me. [Laughter.] Wherever we went, even into the remote parts, we got the same old question put. "Have you been to Aberdare lately? Have you been in the Rhondda? Have you been to Swansea?" All thoughts were of those at home. Same love, same fears, same hopes, same sympathy, whether in the little shack far away or the lonely hut in the bush.

What are the ties that bind us together? Can any one define them? It is love of the homeland that binds us all together, has bound our Empire together. [Cheers.] A supreme belief in justice and a true God. No talk of blood and power and tyranny; no talk of frightfulness. [Cheers.] Wherever we went we saw always the Union Jack flying. I noticed it so frequently that I said to some one in Albany, "What do you fly the flag for? Nobody ever comes up here," and I received the reply, "If nobody comes, we go out and have a look at it ourselves." [Laughter.] I remember one meeting in Adelaide. We turned on the imperial speaker, and he said, "Ladies and gentlemen, we are not a mere parochial or parish pump deputation. We represent those vast imperial interests to which you are all proud to belong." It went very flat, so they came and asked me to have a go, and

after some persuasion I said, "Ladies and gentlemen, my colleague has called your attention to the fact that we are not a mere parochial or parish pump kind of delegation. We represent those vast imperial interests of the British Empire to which you are all proud to belong." It went just as flat. And then I added, "But what in the name of God would have become of the British Empire if it had not been for the village pump?" [Laughter and applause] The fact of the matter is, we are all out in this war. The man at the forge, in the mine, in the field, in the foundry, and the factory, even the Johnny in Rotten Row—they are all taking their little part. How many times have I poked fun at the Johnny in Rotten Row! One said to me once, "Do you know, Cwooks, you don't speak pwoperly. You were not pwoperly twained. You drop your h's." I said to him, "That's nothing, you drop your r's, so between the two of us we shall drop the alphabet." [Laughter.] Where is Algy to-night? In the trenches fighting for his King, his country. [Cheers.] You say you have no land, no money, and it doesn't matter if you are under the Kaiser. You have more than money, more than land—you have liberty. [Cheers.] Liberty to say that your soul is your own. Why hold it so cheap? I can tell you why. It is because you have never fought for it. You Welshmen inherited it. It was won by our fathers and grandfathers on many a bloody battlefield. They gave us liberty. [Cheers.] Can it be that we Britishers shall hand it down less pure than we received it? After all, we have more than a life interest in it. We have to think what generations yet unborn shall say about us. Shall it be that on the little mountain-side home, where the mother is nursing her little children, she shall have to say, "Hush, children. The military will be here, and yet our fathers and grandfathers in 1915 might have settled this military monster for all time. They did not do it. Curses on their memory"? How different will it be if you line up and do your bit now. [Cheers.]

You cheered the brave lads when they went away, how you glorified the men who joined the colours. You sent one man into the trenches where there ought to have been three. You cheer them as they go. Are you going to leave them there? It is murder if you do. You are bound to go and help them. Cannot you hear the mothers of the future saying to their little children, "Aye, it was glorious, the deeds that were performed in those days. We had men with wrists of

iron and hearts of oak"? Yes, our children's children shall be told how Britain's sons stood by her in her dire need, and won immortal glory. It is an obligation. You cannot refuse the call, and yet there are a few who walk about lamenting this war has happened. As there is a God above me, I say this is a holy war. [Cheers.] Whether it takes six months or six years, we have to fight it out to a finish. [Cheers.] I would rather see the whole British race blotted out than I would see any man, woman, or child working under the Kaiser.

We have read the German proclamations. "Strike terror to their hearts; frighten the women and children; leave the women nothing but their eyes to weep with," says the Kaiser. How little do they know of our family! Leave us nothing but eyes to weep with! Fancy the son of a woman of Aberdare coming back to-night and saying, "Are you frightened?" "Frightened! What do you mean?" "Oh! I understand the Germans are leaving the women with nothing but their eyes to weep with." "Oh! you've heard that, Tom, have you? Well, have you beaten the Germans yet?" "No." "Well, don't show your head in Aberdare again till you have." That's the sort of terror the Aberdare women fear most.

Be strong, we are not here to play, to dream or drift;
There's hard work to do and loads to lift.
No matter how entrenched the wrong,
The fight how hard, or how long,
Faint not, fight on; to-morrow will come the song.

MR. HORATIO BOTTOMLEY

[Speech delivered in the Royal Albert Hall, London, on Thursday,
January 14, 1915.]

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I have to apologize to you for being so late, but the apologies are really due from the 20,000 people outside the hall, who are the cause of the trouble. It is becoming an ever-increasing problem as to where we can hold a meeting without causing some riot or disturbance. [Laughter.] Although outside there are angry voices describing this as a ticket meeting, I desire to announce that, with the exception of forty seats in front, some of the boxes, and a few chairs on the platform, every seat in this vast audience has been unticketed and free. [Applause.] Well, ladies and gentlemen, the last time I addressed an audience in this great hall was when, some six years ago, I stood aloof from all the parties in the State, viewing public affairs from the standpoint of the plain, blunt man in the street—the man who ignores all shibboleth and doctrine of high politics, and applies to the various questions of the day the touchstone of simple common-sense, and, with the assistance of that mysterious intuition which is inherent in all mankind, looks things in the face and calls them by their correct names. It is true that at times he embellishes them with certain literary emphasis in order to make his meaning clearer—[laughter]—because he regards the calling of a spade simply a spade as the quintessence of virgin purity, and the exhaustion of the obvious. [Laughter.]

Well, I am here to-night in the same capacity, with an equally remarkable gathering before me, brought together from every part of this great metropolis to do me the honour of listening to what I may have to say about the stupendous problems which to-day confront our empire and country. Mr. Chairman, that is a great compliment, and all I can say by way of deserving it is that, think what else of me you may, at least believe that in this time of our country's trial my patriotism is sincere—[cheers]—and that, from the depths of

my soul do I believe the words of those verses, which I understand have been recited to you, that we are witnessing something more than a war to-day; that we ought to be hearing, if we don't, a call to the human race, upon the answer to which depends the destiny of that race and of the great branch of it to which we belong, and which, to my mind, will be made or marred for ever, according to our right or wrong conception of the hidden meaning and purpose of the great days through which we are passing.

Now, my mind instinctively reverts to that other meeting; and when I picture it again before my eyes, and when I recall the things which were then said, I begin to wonder whether the nation has not been asleep for the last six years. I marvel how it comes about that, with all the evidences of mischief and of menace which were then before us, and every one of which, as I said at the time, constituted in my view a premonitory declaration of war against the peace of the world, we have waited for the convenience of our enemy until she thought she was in the position to strike a mortal blow at the foundations of our empire, and of the peace and the civilization of mankind. We have waited while she has equipped a Navy, into the possession of which she ought never to have been permitted to enter—[cheers]—for the equipment of a colossal Army, of such a character that there was no justification that could be urged for it; for the widening and deepening of the sinister waterway which to-day affords such welcome refuge to her much-vaunted Fleet. She has exploited and explored the innermost secrets of our own defences and fortifications; appropriated our best horses; misappropriated many of our best inventions; filled her arsenals with munitions and material of war, and stocked her granaries with corn—with the result that to-day, although the end must ever be the same, we have to fight our way through seas of blood and tears, which might have been averted, if we had not closed our eyes to the signs and portents which were written on the skies for every one to read. [Cheers.]

But, ladies and gentlemen, to night I am not here to blame anybody. This is not a time for internal dissension or for domestic discord, and the man who does aught—by word or deed, by pen or tongue—to stir it up ought to be carried off without ceremony or trial, as a traitor, to the Tower—[applause]—or, better still, perhaps, be put into the front of the firing line, there to have a practical demonstration of the

humanity and culture of his German friends. [Applause.] An American writer has said that in times of war the motto for the patriot is "My country, right or wrong." [Hear, hear.] Well, I don't quarrel with that; I accept it, although to-day—thank Heaven—we need not have any qualms on the point; but I should also add, "My Government, good or bad." [Cheers.] And so, leaving for the moment, and until the last shot has been fired and the last sword sheathed, all question of criticism and of complaint, I appeal to you—and I know I do not appeal in vain—to stand shoulder to shoulder, as part of a great and mighty Empire united and indivisible, four-square to the common foe. [Loud cheers.]

That being my view of the duty of every patriotic man to-day, it does not follow that, when the time comes, there will not be many matters to be inquired into. There will be much to be said—scandals of feeding, clothing, equipping, paying, camping our recruits, and a score of other things as to which our lips are closed to-day. I suppose no man has been the recipient of more information, more complaints, on those subjects than have I; and I want to assure those soldiers and sailors and their wives and families and dependents who have confided in me their troubles, at least of this: that when the times comes I shall not hesitate to enlighten the nation upon many matters which it ought to know about, and shall not hesitate, regardless of persons or of the powers that be, to insist on the trial by court-martial of every man who has taken advantage of his country's hour of trouble to line his filthy pockets with gold at the expense of the State, and to the injury of the brave and splendid fellows who are fighting for us. [Cheers.] And the other assurance I want to give is that, in the meantime, all the resources which I can control—my staff, my organization—are being placed at the disposal of those who are doing their country's work, for the purpose, first, of investigating their alleged grievances, and, secondly, of bringing them to the notice of the Government and the various authorities with a view to getting them recognized and, to some extent, remedied. Though we do not talk in detail of such things to-day, take it from me that when the war is over we are going to have a searching audit into these affairs. [Applause.] And if I live, whether I sit in the House of Commons or whether I don't, believe me, I intend to be one of the auditors. [Cheers.] After all, ladies and gentlemen, we who are beyond the fighting age cannot do very much for our country to-day.

But, in the way I have indicated, coupled with a somewhat extensive and vigorous recruiting campaign in the provinces, which I am happy to say has been most fruitful, and such assistance as one's poor purse can afford I can come here to-night without playing the rôle of the hypocrite, and ask every man in this hall to do his bit towards his country's job. [Cheers.]

Now, I do not propose to dwell further upon that aspect of the matter. It would be idle to deny that the spirit of some of our troops has been sorely tried, but every one of you knows that Tommy is made of pretty tough stuff, and that he does not mind roughing it. He knows it is a long, long way to Tipperary, but you may be sure of this, that he can be trusted to stay the course. [Cheers.] And there is another reason why I say that it is not right or desirable that we should dwell upon critical aspects of the great crisis in which we stand. There is an old and popular hymn, a line of which, all cant on one side, proclaims a profound truth when it says that "God moves in a mysterious way, His wonders to perform." And it may be that, after all, in this great upheaval of the world we are merely the creatures of a destiny that we cannot control, and that possibly no human prevision could have prevented the bloodshed and the slaughter that is now occurring. It may be that this will be the last great conflict of blood between so-called civilized nations, and that when it is over we shall see the dawn of that era which at present seems a dream, and which is told in the old hackneyed lines as being the time—

When the war drum beats no longer,
And the battle flag is furled
In the Parliament of man,
The federation of the world.

But, in the meantime, friends, vast changes are occurring around us. There is a new spirit abroad—a new spirit in the social, the political, the religious life of the nation. Things are happening every day under our eyes of a far-reaching character, and we scarcely realize they are occurring. At home, the Government has already taken control of our railways; it has, to a large extent, taken control of our food supplies, and it has taken control of our money. In addition to that we have been taught to put our lights out at reasonable hours; to close our refreshment rooms at what many people consider unreasonable hours—[laughter]—to go to bed in good

time. The novel is being superseded by the knitting-pin—[hear, hear]—music by the muffler, and in a thousand other ways there is a quiet change taking place in the habits of the people which lead the student to sometimes reflect how much better, perhaps, the world might have been if it had taken place a little earlier, in the days of peace, and had not been left so late.

How far these changes may affect the permanent life of the community when the war is over is a matter that we need not speculate upon. Personally, I hope we shall some day return to the robust self-dependence and reliance which has always been the characteristic of the British race, and which has been, in my opinion, the secret of its strength in past times. [Cheers.] I am one of those who do not believe in the stamina of a spoon-fed nation. I prefer to remember that from earliest history, from Alfred the Great, from Edward the Confessor, from King John, whenever the British nation has demanded some new measure of freedom, it has always demanded it as an inheritance, and not as a grant. That is the fundamental distinction between the Teutonic and the Anglo-Saxon character. You see it in regard to their possessions and their dependents. Take Alsace, take German Poland to-day ; both yearning to shake off those whom they regard as their oppressors. On the other hand, the glorious spectacle of India, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, Australia—the whole British Empire—rallying to the flag, because they have been nurtured on the principles of freedom. I don't much like reading extracts, but I was tremendously struck the other day by a passage in a speech of Mr. Burke's, delivered nearly 140 years ago, at the time of the American trouble. It is so prophetic and so enlightening that I make no excuse for quoting it :

“ As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have. The more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience ; slavery they can have anywhere ; it is a weed that grows in every soil ; they may have it from Spain ; they may have it from Prussia ; but until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of which you have the monopoly.”

Ladies and gentlemen, that was 140 years ago, and it is because we have acted on that principle that we have this glorious spectacle which is now the wonder of the world. There is not a writer or student of current history who does not stand in deep wonderment at the unity and splendid patriotic rally which characterizes every unit to-day of the great British Empire. [Hear, hear.] It is that distinction which goes to the root of this great struggle. It is that distinction of temperament and character which makes the German State a mechanical entity, producing machines, and the British state a human reality, producing human beings. It is that which makes the Germans cry, "Let Deutschland be a great nation," and the British, "Let every Britisher be a free man." Those are the fundamental distinctions and principles which underlie the old martial and traditional spirit of our race, and which explain why our "contemptible little army" has such contempt for its enemies—[cheers]—and which comforts it in its darkest hours in the trenches with the old Jingo reflection, that "our Army may be small, but has shown before to-day, that a little British Army goes a damned long way." [Cheers.] But, ladies and gentlemen, there is a great deal to be done before this dragon of militarism is to be finally slain—before the great nations of the earth are to cease crouching like wild beasts of the field, ever ready to fly at each other's throats. And what I want to do with you all here to-night is to consider whether we fully realize what it is we have to do, whether we fully grasp the meaning of the great titanic struggle in which we are engaged? If we don't, it is about time that the scales fell from our eyes, and that we set about, in grim earnest, to tackle the great problem of the solemn trust which is now resting in our hands. [Cheers.] Whatever we are going to get as the outcome of this war, such is the law of nature—perhaps my friend, the chairman, would say, "Such is the law of God"—we have got to fight for. We shall not come triumphant out of the struggle without a mighty and a stupendous effort. I want you to consider with me how best we can discharge that obligation, and how far, at present, we are falling short of it. Now, ladies and gentlemen, let us remember this: We are not a military nation. It never dawned upon the authorities—never mind to which Party they belonged—that the time might come, when a great expeditionary force would have to be sent out for the benefit of the civilized world. Perhaps—I say this with deliberation and a little hesitation, because one does

not want to raise any discordant note—but, perhaps, if we had always had the system of government that I sometimes talk about—if we had always had a soldier at the head of the War Office—things would have been different. [Cheers.] Perhaps, ladies and gentlemen, if we had listened to the voice—now stilled—of a great soldier who recently laid down his arms we should have been better prepared. [Cheers.] But when you reflect that, taking our two great services—the Army and the Navy—we have had no less than eight heads of them in eight years, and four of them lawyers, can you wonder that we are not quite prepared for the great trial of strength to which we are called. [Hear, hear.] I almost wonder that we are alive. [Laughter.] It is a wonderful tribute to the inherent strength and vitality of the British Empire that it can stand a test of such a character. And so it comes about that we have been suddenly called upon, under our voluntary system of service, to ask the manhood of the country to come to its rescue, and to rally round the Flag.

One of the purposes of to-night's meeting is to endeavour to encourage that movement, and to face plainly one or two aspects of it to which I want to call your attention. Now I have said I have come here to look at public affairs as a plain, blunt man. I am not aspiring to office or to any public favour, and I do not go out of my way to humbug a public audience. I say deliberately—and those in authority would say so if they dared—that we are not doing so well as we ought with regard to recruiting. I will tell you in a moment a few startling facts. I do not blame the men altogether, because I do not think we have yet made an adequate, concerted, and satisfactory effort to bring home to their minds the exact gravity of the problem we have to face. I do not forget that, in the early days of recruiting, there were terrible scandals. I know that most young fellows get letters from their pals in the camps and trenches, and there have been all sorts of difficulties which have led many men to hesitate. I know that the terms of treatment and the pay of our soldiers in the past have been scandalously, wretchedly and meanly inadequate. [Loud cheers.] I wonder that a nation which, at a moment's notice, can raise four or five hundred million pounds, should haggle and grumble over a paltry few shillings to the only men who matter in a time of national crisis. [Loud cheers.]

Now just another word about this recruiting. Do you realize that three-quarters of Kitchener's Army, as we call it,

consist of married men—seventy-five per cent.—men who are the stable backbone of the country, who have assumed the responsibilities of citizenship, and whose proper place, if in the line at all, is where our shores are violated while the younger men are at the front. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a startling fact that out of 1,200,000 members of Kitchener's Army, 900,000 are married men, only 300,000 of them being without family ties and obligations. ["Shame."] Aye, it is not only a shame; it is a scandal of a terrible character when you reflect what it means to the nation. If you assume—as you are entitled to do—that every one of these men has two or three persons dependent upon him, each of whom will have to be provided for out of the separation allowance, you get something like three-quarters of a million pounds a week paid to support the wives and dependents of the men who ought to be supporting them themselves, while the more active, free, younger men ought to be doing the fighting work abroad. [Cheers and cries of "Cowards."] I don't care to look at the matter from the point of view of what it is going to cost us for pensions for the families of these patriotic married men who may never come back from the field, but it were infinitely preferable that the men who fight for us should be those who have not too many depending upon them in the homeland. What I want to say is this: I don't profess to know any Cabinet secrets, but I pledge myself to this—that this state of things is not going to continue many weeks longer. If the single men of the country do not come forward in larger numbers than they are doing, it will not be many weeks before, by Act of Parliament, or the operation of the common law of the land, they will be compelled to go and do that which it ought to be their very proudest privilege to rush to do of their own accord. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I throw out this suggestion—that Lord Kitchener should at once announce the exact number of further men he requires; that he should give a time-limit to the Government, and that, if at the expiration of that time the whole new Army is not ready, then, by the operation of law, every man capable of bearing arms—and the single ones in preference—should be compelled to do their duty to their country as men in other countries are doing. It is mainly owing to lack of appreciation of facts, and from lack of proper campaigning and recruiting, that our men are failing to come forward to-day [Cheers.] But I do not forget that there may be sinister in-

fluences at work, which are retarding the progress of recruiting. I read a day to two ago a speech made by a public man, who claims to be a special representative of the workers of this country, in which he told a large gathering of working men that the only reason we became so interested in Belgian neutrality was that we wanted an excuse for our country to go to war. ["Shame."] He told them this war, and all the treaties and all the private compacts and *ententes* behind them, were nothing more than a conspiracy on the part of the Government and the millionaires of England. [Laughter.]

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't want to mention the cur's name. [Laughter, cheers, and cries of "Traitor," "Shame," and "Keir Hardie."] I will only say this: that a man who uses such words at such a time as this—[cries of "Traitor" and "The Tower"]—and takes the Nation's money as a member of the King's Parliament, ought not to be at large; he is a public danger. [Hisses and cries: "Shoot him," "Clear them out," etc.] I will only say this further, that, if I were a member of responsible government of this country, a member of Parliament who used such language as that would have very short shrift indeed, and his future speeches would have to be delivered to a much more limited and select audience than those he is in the habit of addressing. [Applause.]

Well, ladies and gentlemen, these are the sort of things that are keeping recruiting back. We want to make it clear to the manhood of this country that this is a life and death struggle between the Anglo-Saxon race and the Teutonic races; the Teutonic is still as brutal, as barbarous, and as base as it has been throughout the whole of its history. I, personally, think the civilization of Germany to-day—despite all its literature and spiritual attractions—[hear, hear]—belongs to a period of a thousand years ago. [Hear, hear.] When I find eminent statesmen telling us that their "spiritual home is in Germany"—[laughter]—I say, first of all that there is no accounting for taste, and, secondly, as a student of psychic matters, I say this: it is a dangerous thing to divorce your astral body from your physical one; and the man whose spiritual home is in Berlin should either call back his spirit as quickly as possible, or transfer its physical encasement there without delay. [Laughter and cheers.]

I was reading the other day—I am not going to read it to-night—the diary of Lady Shelley, who went over the battleground where the Prussians had fought before Waterloo, and

I found there page after page of records of the same atrocities, the same brutal and barbarous conduct we have been witnessing in Belgium of late. When you see the illustrations we get every day of the methods this callous enemy adopts, I say there is a call to every British man who values the freedom of his country, and values the freedom and blessing of civilization, to go and help to put such a barbarous foe out of existence for all time. [Loud cheers.]

I am not going to dwell on the tragedy of poor, bleeding Belgium. I am not going to enlarge on the horrible atrocities which we all know have been committed there, in Flanders, and in Northern France. I am not going to dwell for more than a moment on the new method of warfare, which attacks an unfortified town like Scarborough, and gathers in a harvest of helpless, innocent women and children, and calls it a great military feat. But if that is one of the recognized methods of our new enemy, it would not be a bad idea if we distributed all the German prisoners we have among the unfortified coastal towns of the kingdom. And then, perhaps, their countrymen—Heaven knows whether they would or not—might possibly be more reluctant to attack us in the way they have done. [A voice: "Not they."] There is no question that we are dealing with a man in the Kaiser—[A voice: A what?" and laughter.] Well, a man, shall I say, who is just on the borderland between humanity and barbarism; who inherits all the madness of his ancestors. Nobody knew better than the late King Edward how mad his nephew was. [Cheers.] And so long as he lived he was able to keep the fellow in order. [Laughter.] But from the time we lost that great king—that great ambassador of peace, who did more for the peace of Europe than all the statesmen who ever lived—[applause]—this man has been irresponsible, mad with ambition, only waiting for the opportunity, as he thought, by all sorts of subterfuge and hypocrisy, to catch us unawares, and to give full vent to that ambition, which undoubtedly will now, as Shakespeare says, "o'erleap itself." Let me ask young men there if they would not like, although they have not done much at the present, if they would not like to be in at the death. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the talons of the lion are already getting well into the neck of the vulture, and that you can almost hear the death rattle of his foul and black throat. I want the manhood of England—and London especially—to come forward, so that they will be able to say to their children, and to their child-

ren's children, "I was one of those who gave him the finishing touch, and ridded Europe of her greatest menace." Then, if you will do that, if you will strengthen the Army and increase the pressure on the enemy in the field, perhaps our good old friend, Jack Tar, will have a chance of having a go as well, instead of waiting, as he is doing to-day. [Cheers.] After all, the German Fleet cannot remain for ever in its present hiding-place.

We heard a lot about its aspirations for "The Day," and now we know how dearly it prefers "the night." [Laughter.] We heard of its aspirations for "A place in the sun," now it is content with a sneaking refuge up a canal. [Renewed Laughter.] Well, ladies and gentlemen, it is hard luck for our Fleet; it is a tremendous trial for our sailors, and I don't think any of us appreciates the full nature of the magnificent, silent service which these men are rendering us, even as we sit here to-night—waiting, watching, ever on the alert—in having to contend with a new form of warfare which is a disgrace to civilization and a disgrace to all the annals of the world. [Cheers.] This great German fleet, yearning for "The Day," is always looking for fog and smooth water; and its new principle is this: if you can't beat your enemy in fair fight, somehow or other contrive to trip him up. And so the new "kultur" of the fighting world is to be this: In the next championship boxing match when one of the combatants is fearful of his opponent, he will take steps to mine the centre of the ring; the Oxford and Cambridge boat race will be decided by a mine at Mortlake; the Derby will be fatal to the favourite when he gallops over the mine immediately in front of the winning-post. That is the "kultur" of the Teutonic race; that is the new method with which our sailors have to contend. Did a fleet ever maintain the traditions of the ocean—of a great Naval race—better than our sailors are doing to-day? ["No," and cheers.] I don't know whether you recall that little tragedy of a few days ago, when the *Formidable* was going down to the depths of the sea. What was the survivors' story? "The last thing we saw was a line of sailors saluting the old flag and singing 'Tipperary' as they went down to the bottom of the ocean." [Loud cheers.] And those are the men that you fellows who do not recruit, are allowing to be murdered by these Huns. [Cheers.] If only you would answer your country's call and strengthen Lord Kitchener's forces, then, out of sheer desperation and necessity, the German Fleet will have

to sail forth and give battle according to the recognized rules of the game, and test once more, and for ever, whether the British sailor is not still entitled to consider himself the lord of the sea. [Cheers.]

When it comes to the day of reckoning—and it is a heavy reckoning which this enemy has to look to—it will be for us, the people, to consider what that reckoning shall be. It may, after all, be for the best that this Fleet is remaining intact as it is doing, because it may facilitate the settlement when the time comes. And on that point I want to say this : in the name of Heaven, make up your minds, that, just as this is your war and my war, the settlement is to be ours, and is not to be a hole-and-corner affair of the Party politicians in any Cabinet chamber. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] After the Battle of Waterloo, when it came to the terms of settlement, we did not go to the politicians. We sent out to the conference a great soldier, Lord Wellington ; and I am going to suggest that we follow that example and that, when it comes to discussing the terms of peace, we give the politicians a temporary rest and say to Lord Kitchener—[cheers, and a voice : “ Lord Fisher ”]—and, as my friend says, Lord Fisher, or Admiral Jellicoe, the men who have done the work, and say : “ You have finished the job ; now go over for us and reap the fruit.” [Cheers.] We can easily all agree upon the main points of the settlement. Politicians will wrangle and argue about them, but to my mind they are fairly apparent and obvious. I think one or two heads will represent the minimum of the public demand. One of the first things we want to do is to get rid finally of Turkey out of Europe. [Cheers.] We have had this sick man in the family too long—[laughter]—and now the time has come to give him his quietus or send him to more congenial soil. German and Austrian Poland must be added to the new Kingdom of Poland. We will have a composite Poland with an opportunity of building up a national existence and life for itself. Hungary and Bohemia must again be separate States ; they hate Germany and are only longing for an opportunity to break away. They must be given their independence and liberty. Germany and Prussia must go back to the position they were in in 1870—a collection of small and harmless States, infinitely happier than they are to-day, many of them yearning to get back into their peaceful avocations, and to be freed from the military dominance which is to-day crushing them almost to the ground. Italy, if she will only do the right thing—and I think she will

—must have Trieste back. Alsace and Lorraine will naturally go back to their old friends and parents—France. The Fleet of Germany, if still intact, I once thought might conveniently be added to our own, but, lest that should cause any jealousy among the Allies, would not it be a good idea to make it a nucleus of an International Fleet, manned and commanded by international officers, for the purpose of policing the seas of the world, and helping to keep the ports and commerce of the nations free from molestation? Think over the idea. One of the great things of the war may be an international compact by which the seas shall be kept free and open; and if this German fleet does not rot in the Canal let it earn its living at last by doing something useful. [Cheers.]

There will, of course, be the indemnity, which will have to recoup the Allies, not only the expenditure on the War, but all the cost of compensation and of pensions which will follow the War. We will follow the example of Germany in 1870; we will follow its example whenever it gets hold of a Belgian city and say to her, as the man said who went to the bank manager for an overdraft. "How much do you want?" he was asked and his reply was, "How much have you got?" So, we'll say to Germany when all other matters are settled, "How much have you got, and how much can you raise in the next twenty or thirty years?" And we'll divide that up fairly among the Allies. Of course, the Kaiser and his promising son will have to be dealt with. [Laughter.] They must not be allowed to remain in Germany a day after peace is declared. They can be put up for auction so far as I am concerned, and knocked down to the lowest bidder. [Laughter.] And then, ladies and gentlemen, comes the question: What are you going to do with Belgium? On this, I speak in all seriousness, and I throw out a suggestion for the consideration of what are called responsible statesmen. All Europe and the whole civilized world are indebted to little Belgium to-day. [Cheers.] Politicians tell us we have to restore her integrity, and to renew her shattered treasures and cathedrals. That is only the beginning of it. That is no adequate compensation for us to make in recognition of the enormous debt we owe that little brave people, who stood between chaos and civilization, and whose stand saved France, and, perhaps, saved us, from catastrophes too terrible to contemplate. And I am going to make a suggestion to you that, in addition to compensating Belgium for all

material loss, there are two respects at least in which we can pay her something towards the debt we owe. First of all, there is a little province at present in the occupation of Germany which she ought never to have possessed, and which we do not intend her to keep—Schleswig-Holstein. If I were Prime Minister I would write to glorious King Albert : “ Would you care to be Prince of Schleswig-Holstein as well as King of Belgium ? ” That is one little compliment we could pay him, which he has richly earned. There is another respect in which we can compensate Belgium, and in which Belgium can do a great service to the world. There is that little water-way the Kiel Canal, which has got to be denationalized. It has got to be put in the hands of some one in trust for Europe, and I say the natural custodian and trustee of it is King Albert of Belgium. [Cheers.] Let the Canal be put in the custody of Belgium ; let Belgium take the tolls which are legitimately demanded for its use, and let there be a notice put up on the road to Heligoland for all the merchant seamen of the world to read : “ Short cut to the Baltic, first to the right.”

Well, ladies and gentlemen, you may think it a little premature to be talking about the terms of settlement ; I am one of those who do not think so. I have said, and say again to-night, this is not going to be the long war that some people anticipate. One does not want to be a military expert to know that you cannot have ten or fifteen million men in the field for an indefinite period without a large number of natural laws coming into play to upset your calculations. I know that when Lord Kitchener announced in the House of Lords, not very long ago, that he had an army of one and a quarter millions in training, that statement gave Germany a shock, and the moment she knows that that army is two millions, and that one million of it is almost ready now, and is on the point of being dispatched to the front—[cheers]—believe me you will soon be hearing of those mysterious overtures, the origin of which no one can ever trace, but the purpose of which is plain to all the world. I therefore say that the time is ripe for considering what is going to happen after this war. I do hope that we shall not be long before we are accepting nothing less than the fullest fruit of the fullest and most complete victory.

This menace has been over us too long, but it has taught us much. We realize now, as perhaps few of us realized before, the thin line that divides civilization from barbarism. How empty, how unstable all our vaunted institutions are !

And, after all, you see now that the only man who matters is the man who can shoulder a gun and carry a sword. It is a weird, it is a strange reflection in the twentieth century of civilization and enlightenment, but the fact remains that, in the last resort, we have to depend upon the physical valour and the martial spirit of our race. Perhaps one of the first lessons resulting from this war will be that in future, instead of passing our soldiers by and treating them with indifference, we shall raise our hats to them; we shall salute them, and be proud if they will walk on the same side of the street as ourselves. [Loud and prolonged cheers.] Ladies and gentlemen, this is a mighty struggle. It is a Marathon of the gods of battle, and I confess that, if I were a young man of fighting age, I should yearn to be in it. I feel that those of us who cannot join the Army are placed at a terrible disadvantage, because I cannot think of any prouder boast for any Britisher to make when the war is over—that he took an active and vital part in ridding England and the world of a great, a hideous menace, which, but for his intervention, might have wiped out the civilization of our past ages and everything worth living for or dying for on the earth. [Loud cheers.] I ask those young men if they do not really feel that there is a call to them. I ask them if they cannot hear their comrades calling to them from the trenches, calling to them from the hospitals, calling to them from the decks of the sea-dogs who are guarding our shores day in and night in. If they do not hear that call they are unworthy to claim the name of Englishman. [Cheers.]

After all, we are the greatest martial race the world has ever known. We have had a good time in the past, because we have led in the van of commerce and trade, and perhaps the rising generation has never been sufficiently taught—our system of education is so incomplete that you cannot blame them—has never been sufficiently taught the meaning of the words “the British Empire.” Still, I do believe that the day is coming rapidly when the manhood of the nation will realize the call that is being made to them. I wonder if I might not also say that it is something more solemn than even the call of the men in the trenches. I am no religionist, and I would rather cut my tongue from its roots than talk hypocritical cant in the name of religion. I have always said that, and while I respect and esteem the honest priest, I have nothing but contempt for the self-righteous individual, who makes his religion a cloak for hypocrisy and

self-interest ; and, although, as in politics I stand aloof from party, so in matters of religious principles I stand aloof from sect and creed—it may be my misfortune, but to my poor mind all these shibboleths are so empty, so unsatisfying, and fall so far short of the eternal verities—I say this with all the sincerity of which I am capable, that when I sit and reflect upon this great world conflict in which we are engaged, I cannot help thinking there is something more than a mere human hand behind it. I don't profess to read the meaning of it ; I don't profess to comprehend it. I find it hard, as you find it hard—even as the reverend chairman must find it hard—to reconcile the bloodshed, the anguish, the tears, and misery we are witnessing every day, with the design of a beneficent Providence. But while I find it hard to do so, and while I give up the problem in despair, I sometimes think it may be—and I throw this out for your consideration—that this is the last great upheaval of our primitive savagery, a dying demonstration of that barbarism from which we have all risen. And sometimes in the silent hours of the night, when pondering these matters, I feel that perhaps when the roar of the cannon has died away, and the blood has ceased flowing, the scales may drop from our eyes ; and that as we look back upon the ghastly scene we have left behind, we may find that mankind has passed the final milestone on the road of human destiny, and may see before us—I say it with all solemnity—a brighter and a clearer road, with the Prince of Peace at its end—pointing to the Star of Bethlehem, which leads us on to God. [Prolonged applause.]

RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

[Speech by the Prime Minister, delivered at the Rink, Cardiff, on Friday, October 2, 1914, the Lord Mayor of Cardiff in the chair.]

MY LORD MAYOR, MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN :— In the course of the last month I have addressed meetings in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin—[hear, hear]—and now, in the completion of the task which I set myself, and which the kindness of our great municipal authorities have allowed me to perform, I have come to Cardiff. [Hear, hear.] England, Scotland, and Ireland have each of them a definite and well-established capital city. [“Hear, hear,” and laughter.] But I have always understood there was some doubt—[laughter]—as to where the capital of the Principality of Wales was to be found on the map. [Laughter.]

Wales is a single and indivisible entity—[hear, hear]—with a life of its own, drawing its vitality from the ancient past, and both, I believe, in the volume and in the reality of its activity never more virile than it is to-day. [Applause.] But I do not know that there is any general agreement among Welshmen as to where their capital is to be found—[laughter]—and without attempting as an outsider to differentiate or to reconcile competing claims—[laughter]—I stand here to-night in what I believe to be a safe coign of vantage under the hospitality and the authority of the Lord Mayor of Cardiff. [Hear, hear.] My Lord Mayor, though I am not altogether a stranger to Wales, you may, nevertheless, ask why I have requested your permission to address this great audience here to-night. I am not altogether an idle man, and during the last two months I can honestly say that there has hardly been a day—indeed, there have been very few hours—which have not been pre-occupied with grave cares and responsibilities—[hear, hear]—but throughout them all I have been, and I am, sustained by a profound and unshakable belief in the righteousness of our cause—[loud cheers]—and by overwhelming evidence

that in the pursuit and the maintenance of that cause the Government have behind them without distinction of race, of party, or of class the whole moral and material support of the British Empire. [Renewed cheers.]

Let me take the opportunity to acknowledge and to welcome the calm, reasoned, and dignified statement of our case which the Christian Churches of the United Kingdom—[hear, hear]—through some of their most distinguished leaders and ministers have this week presented to the world. I will not repeat, and I certainly could not improve upon, their presentation of the matter. And, indeed, my Lord Mayor, I am not here to-night to argue out propositions which British citizens in every part of the world to-day regard as beyond the reach of controversy. [Hear, hear.] I do not suppose that in the history of mankind there has ever been in such a vast and diverse community agreement so unanimous, purpose so concentrated, a corporate conscience so clear and so convinced, co-operation so spontaneous, so ardent, and so resolute. [Cheers.] Just consider what it means. How is it, in this United Kingdom, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales speak with one plain, harmonious, united voice. Over the sea in our great Dominions—[applause]—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, our Crown Colonies, swell the chorus. [Hear, hear]. In India—[cheers]—where whatever we won by the sword we hold and we retain by the more splendid title of just and disinterested rule, by the authority not of a despot, but of a trustee—in India the response to our common appeal has moved our feelings to their profoundest depths, and has been such as to shiver and to shatter to pieces the vain and ignorant imaginings of our enemies. [Applause.] That, my Lord Mayor, is a remarkable and, indeed, a unique spectacle.

What is it? What is it that has stirred the imagination, aroused the conscience, enlisted the manhood, welded into one compact and irresistible force the energies and the will of the greatest Imperial structure that the world has ever known? That is a question which for the moment, at any rate, is well worth asking and answering. Let me say then, first, negatively that we are not impelled, any of us, by some of the motives which have occasioned the bloody struggles of the past. In this case, so far as we are concerned, ambition and aggression play no part. [Cheers.] What do we want? What do we aim at? What have we to gain? We are a great world-wide peace-loving partnership. We have, by the wisdom and



RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH
(PRIME MINISTER)

courage of our forefathers, by great deeds of heroism and adventure by land and sea, by the insight, the inbred sagacity, the tried and tested experience of many generations, built up a dominion which is buttressed by the two pillars of liberty and law. [Cheers.] We are not vain enough nor foolish enough to think that in the course of that long process there have not been blunders, or worse than blunders, and that to-day our dominion does not fall short of what in our ideals it might, and it ought, and, we believe, it is destined to be. But such as we have received it, and such as we hope to leave it, with it we are content. [Hear, hear.] We do not covet any people's territory. [Hear, hear.] We have no desire to impose our rule upon alien populations. The British Empire is enough for us. [Laughter and loud applause.] All that we wished for, all that we wish for now, is to be allowed peaceably to consolidate our own resources, to raise within the Empire the level of common opportunity, to draw closer the bonds of affection and confidence between its parts, and to make it everywhere the worthy home of the best traditions of British liberty. [Hear, hear.] Does it not follow from that that nowhere in the world is there a people who have stronger motives to avoid war and to seek and pursue peace? [Hear, hear.] Why then—I repeat the question—why then are the British people throughout the length and breadth of our Empire everywhere turning their ploughshares into swords? Why are they, the best of our able-bodied men, leaving the fields and the factories and the counting-houses for the recruiting office and the training camp? [Hear, hear.]

If, as I have said, my Lord Mayor, we have no desire to add to our Imperial burdens, either in area or in responsibility, it is equally true that in entering upon this war we had no ill-will to gratify nor any wrongs of our own to avenge. In regard to Germany in particular—[hisses]—our policy, repeatedly stated in Parliament, resolutely pursued year after year, both in London and in Berlin—our policy has been to remove one by one the outstanding causes of possible friction, and so to establish a firm basis for cordial relations in the days to come. [Hear, hear.] We have said from the first—I have said it over and over again, and so has Sir Edward Grey—we have said from the first that our friendships with certain Powers, with France—[cheers]—with Russia, and with Japan—[renewed cheers]—that our friendships with those Powers were not to be construed as implying cold feelings, and still less

hostile purposes against any other Power, but, at the same time, we have always made it clear, to quote the words used by Sir Edward Grey as far back as November, 1911—I quote his exact words :—

One does not make new friendships worth having by deserting old ones. New friendships, by all means, let us have ; but not at the expense of the ones we have.

[Hear, hear.]

That has been, and I trust will always be, the attitude of those whom the Kaiser in his now notorious proclamation describes as the treacherous English. [Laughter.] We laid down—and I wish to call the attention, not only your attention, but the attention of the whole world, to this, so many false legends are now being invented and circulated—in the following year, in the year 1912, we laid down, in terms carefully approved by the Cabinet and which I will textually quote, what our relations to Germany ought in our view to be. We said, and we communicated this to the German Government—we said : “ Britain declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which Britain is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything which has such an object.” [Cheers.] There is nothing ambiguous nor equivocal about that, but, my Lord Mayor, that was not enough for German statesmanship. They wanted us to go farther. They asked us to pledge ourselves absolutely to neutrality in the event of Germany being engaged in war ; and this, mind you, at a time when Germany was enormously increasing both her aggressive and defensive resources, and especially upon the sea. They asked us—to put it quite plainly—they asked us for a free hand, so far as we were concerned, if and when they selected the opportunity to overpower and dominate the European world. To such a demand but one answer was possible—[cheers]—and that was the answer we gave. [Renewed cheers.] Nevertheless, we have continued during the last two years, and never more energetically and more successfully than during the Balkan crisis of last year, to work not only for the peace of Europe, but for the creation of a better international atmosphere and a more cordial co-operation between all the Powers. [Cheers.]

My Lord Mayor, from both points of view—that of our domestic interest as a kingdom and an empire, and of our settled attitude and policy in the counsels of Europe, a war such as this, which injures the one and frustrates the other, was and could only be regarded as among the worst of catastrophes—among the worst of catastrophes, but not the worst. [Hear, hear.] Four weeks ago, speaking at the Guildhall in the City of London, when the war was still in its early days, I asked my fellow-countrymen with what countenance, with what conscience, had we basely chosen to stand aloof, we could have watched from day to day the terrible unrolling of events—public faith shamelessly broken, freedom of a small people trodden in the dust, the wanton invasion of Belgium and then of France by hordes who leave behind them at every stage of their progress a dismal trail of savagery, of devastation, of desecration—[hear, hear]—worthy of the blackest annals in the history of barbarism. [Hear, hear.] That was four weeks ago. The war has now lasted for sixty days, and every one of those days has added to the picture its share of sombre and repulsive traits. We now see clearly, written down in letters of carnage and spoliation, the real ends and methods of this long-prepared and well-organized scheme against the liberties of Europe. [Applause.] I say nothing of other countries. I pass no judgment upon them. But if we here in Great Britain had abstained and remained neutral, forsworn our word, deserted our friends, paltered and compromised with the plain dictates of our duties—nay, if we had not shown ourselves ready to strike with all our force at the common enemy of civilization and of freedom, there would have been nothing left for us and for our country but to veil her face in shame and be ready in her turn—for her turn would have come—to be ready in her turn to share the doom which she would have richly deserved, and go, after centuries of glorious life, down to her grave “unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.” [Hear, hear.] My Lord Mayor, let us gladly acknowledge what becomes clearer and clearer every day, that the world is just as ready as it ever was—and no part of it readier than the British Empire—to understand and to respond to moral issues. [Cheers.] The new school of German thought has been teaching for a generation past that in the affairs of nations there is no code of ethics. According to them force, and nothing but force, is at once the test and the measure of right. As the events which are going on before our eyes have

made it plain, they have succeeded only too well in indocinating with their creed—I will not say the people of Germany—like Burke, I will not attempt to draw up an indictment against a nation—[cheers]—I will not say the people of Germany, but those who control and execute German policy. [Cheers.]

But it is one of those products of German genius which, whether or not it was intended exclusively for home consumption—[laughter]—has, I am happy to say, not found a market abroad, and certainly not within the boundaries of the British Empire. [Applause.] We still believe here—old-fashioned people as we are—[laughter]—we still believe here in the sanctity of treaties—[hear, hear]—that the weak have rights and that the strong have duties—[hear, hear]—that small nationalities have every bit as much a title as large ones to a life of independence; and that freedom for its own sake is as well worth fighting for to-day as it ever was in the past—[applause]—and we are looking forward at the end of this war, we are looking forward to a Europe in which these great and simple and venerable truths will be recognized and safeguarded for ever against the recrudescence of the era of blood and iron. [Applause.] My Lord Mayor, stated in a few words, that is the reason for our united front—the reason that has brought our gallant Indian warriors to Marseilles—[applause]—which has attracted from our most distant Dominions the best of their manhood, and which in the course of two months has transformed the United Kingdom into a vast recruiting ground. [Hear, hear.] I have come here to-night not to talk, but to do business, and before I sit down I want to say to you a few practical words.

We are confronted, as you all know and recognize, by the greatest emergency in our history. [Hear, hear.] Every part of the kingdom, and every man and every woman in every part of it, is called upon to make his or her contribution and to do his or her share, and our primary business is to fill the ranks. [Cheers.] There is, I find, in some quarters an apprehension that the recruiting for the new army, and the functions to be assigned to that army when it is formed and trained, may interfere with or may in some way belittle or disparage the Territorial Force. Gentlemen, believe me, no delusion can be more mischievous or more complete. No praise can be too high for the patriotic and sustained efforts of the county associations or for the quality and efficiency of the Territorial

troops. [Hear, hear.] It is a comparatively easy thing—do not forget this—it is a comparatively easy thing to make great efforts and sacrifices under the stress and strain which we are now experiencing of a supreme crisis. Territorials, without any such stimulus, in the piping times of peace, when war and the sufferings and struggles and glories of war were contingent and remote—these men gave their time, sacrificed their leisure, and underwent not only their annual training, but in thousands of cases, both of officers and men, devoted their spare hours all through the year to prepare themselves in the study and practice of the art of war. They have now been embodied for two months, and I am expressing the considered opinion of some of our most eminent generals when I say that the divisions now in camp in various parts of the country, improving every day in efficiency, completely justify their title to play any part which may be assigned to them, either in home defence, in the manning of our garrisons, or in the battle line at the front. [Hear, hear.]

It is, then, no want of appreciation of the patriotism and of the efficiency of the Territorial Force that leads me to ask you to-night for recruits for the Regular Army. We wish—let me make that clear to you here—we wish, so far as military exigencies permit, that the new battalions and squadrons and batteries should retain their local associations and their corporate and distinctive national character. [Hear, hear.] Why, gentlemen, the freedom and autonomy of the smaller nationalities is one of the great issues in this gigantic contest. I went a week ago to Dublin to make an appeal to Ireland, and I asked Irishmen then, as I do now on behalf of the Government and of the War Office, to enlist in, and make up the complement of an Irish army corps. I repeat that appeal to-night to the men of Wales. [Cheers.] We want them—we want you to fill up the ranks of a Welsh army corps. [Cheers.]

We believe that the preservation of local and national ties, and the genius of a people which has a history of its own, is not only not hostile to, nor inconsistent with, but, on the contrary, fosters and strengthens and stimulates the spirit of a common purpose, of a corporate brotherhood, and of an underlying and binding Imperial unity throughout every section and among all ranks of the forces of the Crown.

Men of Wales, of whom I see so many thousands in this splendid gathering—men of Wales, let me say one last word to you: Remember your past. [Applause.] Think of the

villages and the mountains which in the old days were the shelter and the recruiting ground of your forefathers in the struggles which adorn and glorify your annals. Never has a stronger and a more compelling appeal been made to all that you as a nation honour and hold dear. Be worthy of those who went before you—[“Hear, hear,” and “Clywch, clywch”]—and leave to your children the richest of all inheritances—the memory of fathers who in a great cause put self-sacrifice before ease and honour above life itself. [Loud cheers.]

SIR WILLIAM ROBERTSON NICOLL

[An address delivered at an Intercessory Service in the City Temple
on Friday, October 30, 1914.]

WE hated war with a steadily growing hatred and abhorrence. We hate it more than ever, and look with longing for its end. A great and powerful movement for peace was at work in the world, and has not been defeated, though it has been stayed. But we never said that all wars were to be condemned. We knew too well that huge armaments were being piled up. We became familiar with the language of menace and hate. We had to say, "I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war." At last the storm burst upon us, and found us but partially prepared, while the enemy had prepared by all means—fair and foul. When the time came, we calmly took our side. Never in any previous war was the nation so united and so steadfast. We had not renounced our quest for peace, but we saw that something came before that. That something was righteousness. Our Lord Jesus Christ is first King of Righteousness, and then King of Peace.

First, righteousness. Had it not been for that we might have had a kind of peace. It would not have lasted long unless we had become so craven as to fear a fight in any cause. It would have been a selfish, ignoble, and cowardly peace, bought at the price of open and cynical treachery. We might have renounced our plighted word, our honour, our obligations. We might have torn up the scrap of paper and left little Belgium to her fate. But it could not be. It would have been a peace which would have made us the scorn of the whole world, and left us without a friend. Such perfidy and such ignominy would have been many times worse than war.

While the battles rage our hearts are often anxious and heavy. They will be for months to come. We shall have bitter news as well as joyful news. Our endurance and our faith will be tested to the uttermost. Consider how much more wretched we should have been if we had been out of

this war, if we had been watching the ruin of our Allies and remained passive. Better war, we say from our hearts, than the tame acquiescence in the claim of the German militarism to dominate the world.

But Jesus is first King of Righteousness. Is this an antiquated phrase covering a dead thought? Nay, verily it is the spring of life's hope and of its highest joy. Righteousness is the keyword of the Christian faith. It is the granite foundation of our faith. The idea of righteousness is not a simple rudiment of the spiritual schools. Whoever understands St. Paul's intense conception of righteousness knows that it was the secret spring of the Apostle's spiritual power. To him the Gospel was primarily a declaration of the righteousness of God. Even love took second place to righteousness. This idea was given from above; it was not evolved from the inner consciousness, or from a survey of the world's history. The whole course of revelation is the gradual unveiling of the righteous God, which reaches its end in the New Testament. Once we know what righteousness meant to the Apostles we have not much more to learn.

I agree with the eminent preacher who said that if we as a nation had never known Christ we should have been at peace. It is Christ Who has flung His shield over the weak things of the world. The love of liberty, the abhorrence of tyranny, the care for the rights of other nations, the sacred obligations of honour, would have had no power to move us to battle had it not been for the spirit of Christ within us. The devil would have advised us to be neutral. He would have whispered to us that nothing was to be put in comparison with our own comfort and prosperity and security. He would have advised us to be content with our little island, and to obey the hests of our masters, and to cast to the wind the old superstitions about justice and mercy and courage and faith. No, it is because we are Christians that we are gone to war. It is Christ Himself Who has bidden us draw the sword for the cause of righteousness.

First righteousness, and then peace—by which I mean a righteous peace. There is no other peace worth striving for, no other peace in which men can be happy. It is possible for us to hope that as a result of this frightful war such a peace may come to us? There are many who are comforting themselves during this agony by the thought that this war will mean the end of wars. There are others, less sanguine,

who say that as long as sin remains war will remain. To get rid of war we must first get rid of the evil that is in men's hearts. I cannot help thinking that we may look forward hopefully to the end of war if a righteous peace is reached. I decline to accept war as the permanent condition of human society. Slavery has been all but banished from the world, and may not war be banished? When we come to the end of the weary strife we shall see many things in a new light. We shall see, as we do not see even now, the horror, the pity, the futility, the ruin and the waste, which follow in the track of war. I would fain hope that, when the course of this world-war is calmly surveyed, the appeal to the arbitrament of war will cease. We cannot look forward very far, but surely we may expect that at the end the victors will see to it that, as far as it is possible, war and menace of war shall be removed from the terrors of human life. It is for this that we are fighting, and save this we can look for little as the result of our costly sacrifice.

But if the fight goes against us there is no such hope. Imagine—if you can imagine—a triumphant Germany. Imagine—if you can imagine—Britain, France, Russia, India, Canada, Australia, Japan, all the subdued and obedient vassals of the German conqueror? Would this make an end of war? Does any one believe that such a triumph would be more than the triumph of an hour? Only by the sheer wholesale murder of all free men could such a settlement be made permanent. Such an end would be no end. So long as any Briton could lift his arm there would be conspiracies first and battles next, and soon the flames would be burning over the whole earth. There is no peace in that, neither is there a true peace if we merely beat Germany on the land and on the sea. It has been well said that we should be conquerors in that case, but we shall be more than conquerors if we can exorcize the demon of militarism from the German mind and soul, for Germany in her humiliation will learn to take her true place among the fellowship of the nations.

Our hope, however, for the true peace that is built upon righteousness is in the triumph of the King of Salem, Who was first of all King of Righteousness—Who is made of God to all His people wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. When the lightnings flash from one end of heaven to the other, and He returns to the world again, He will take to Himself His great power and reign, and then will

come a peace never to be broken more. There is much in the New Testament to suggest that He will come through the ragings and convulsions and earthquakes of the world. As Charles Wesley wrote, in those lines which Charlotte Brontë has quoted :—

“ Oh ! who can explain
This struggle for life,
This travail and pain,
This trembling and strife ?
Plague, earthquake and famine,
And tumult of war,
The wonderful coming
Of Jesus declare.”

He will come again to this old, weary, blood-drenched earth, and then will be the reign of peace. Then will all the wild tumult be laid to rest, and instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree, and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off.

TOM RICHARDS

[Speech of the Secretary of the Miners' Federation at the Great Mass Meeting held in the Rink, Cardiff, on October 2, 1914.] B. 1. 14

MY LORD MAYOR, MR. ASQUITH, AND GENTLEMEN :—On rising to second the resolution, I would like to say that we all understand what we are committing ourselves to in that resolution—that we all completely and absolutely and entirely accept the vindication that we have realized all along has been given by our statesmen and by the first statesman of the realm to-night on the policy of this country. We fully realize that—but we do more. We said in the resolution that we were going to provide them with everything that is necessary to prosecute the war to a victorious conclusion—[cheers]—and thus secure the lasting peace of Europe. [Cheers.]

The men of the Miners' Federation are already in their thousands helping to do it, and there are thousands here to-night who are going to help. ["We will."] That brings me to say why I am called upon to second the resolution. I am connected with that great army of brave men who do so much to provide the comfortable homes and to provide the industries of this country with a necessary commodity, and who brave as great dangers every day of their lives as soldiers do on the battlefield, and who are killed by the hundreds and wounded by their thousands every year in this country in producing that commodity. Why, it isn't much change when we ask the South Wales collier to go on the battlefield. ["Hear, hear."]

Many of your working places are dark and dismal, aye, and as dangerous as the trenches at the front. [Hear, hear.] They talk about the Jack Johnsons of the Germans; what about the bombs of Senghenydd? ["Hear, hear," and cheers.] They are not to be compared with them—they swoop 400 of them at a time into eternity.

The effect of the resolution we have moved to-night must be seen in the recruiting offices. All honour to the 30,000 or 40,000 Welshmen who have already, since the crisis arose,

offered their services, gone into training, and are now ready to go to fight the battles of the country. All honour to them. [Hear, hear.] But the young men who are left, and who have listened to the speeches of responsible Ministers of the country, and the negotiations between this country and Germany—and there is no peace-loving Welshman in Wales who will impartially study them and also what Mr. Asquith has told us what Great Britain did to secure peace but will say that we were thoroughly justified in everything the Government have done. [Cheers.]

And had we not, as the Premier told us in his Guildhall speech, stood by our friends, it would have been better for us to be wiped out of the pages of history. [Hear, hear.] I have lately read and I commend you all to read the work of General von Bernhardi on *Germany and the Next War*, and you will see that every penny we could subscribe and every drop of blood we could shed must protect this nation from what had become the ruling passion of the German military force. [Cheers.] War to them was as divinely necessary as eating. Massacres, burnings, and murders were all part of the game, and we were told to look at the massacres, burnings, and murders not like children, but like men. All these were necessary, according to Bernhardi, in order that Germany should expand; that it might spread its great culture to all the nations of the world. [Laughter and applause.] Right, according to that general, was might, and the spoil was to the victor. That was the teaching of the German professors, invaders of the villages of the Belgians and of France. The nations which did not prosecute these ideals would become effeminate and effete. Bernhardi, however, should now have to wipe out a part of his book at Mons—that feat of the glorious British army. [Cheers.] Yes, and to be up-to-date he would have the battle of the Aisne to write up. [Applause.] What were our soldiers protecting us against? Have you read as I have—to the neglect of my business I am afraid—of the noble deeds done at the front? I am no authority on military matters, but did you read of the incident which took place in the British trenches the other day, when our soldiers wanted to send a message to the French? A brave soldier raised his flag, and was shot down; it was no use endeavouring to signal, and so the commander said, “We must have a cyclist to carry the message.” One went, and he was shot down; a second was sent, and he shared the same fate; but the third did not

hesitate, but took hold of his machine and went through the fire and smoke and delivered the message to the French commander.

Oh, I should like to have been there, to have seen the French commander taking the brave cyclist by the arm and saying, "Mon camarade." I, too, say to each man at the front, "Mon camarade—my comrades, every one." [Cheers.] The Prime Minister has told us very clearly what we have gone to war against; against Bernhardt's plan of campaign—to destroy Belgium, defeat France, and then wipe those "treacherous English" off the map. We have heard of those brave fellows fighting at the front. Don't run away with the idea that these men are defending France; they are defending Wales. [Cheers.] But we want more men. That is the text of this meeting, and we have men who from the very nature of their calling are fitted to be soldiers. They have the muscle and brawn, and as far as courage is concerned they are ready, for have they not spent their lives in the pits?

There must be no peace yet. Can I say that on behalf of the men of Wales? [Loud cries of "Yes."] Can there be peace now? [No.] What are those whinings to the great American nation? What did they think? The Germans had invaded France and Belgium, and they were top dogs. [No, no.] That reminds me of a fight at Aberdare the other day, when one fellow was on the top and the other under him, on the ground, but the former was shouting for help. "Why are you shouting? You are on top," queried a bystander. "Yes," was the reply, in pitiful tones, "but he is getting up." [Laughter and applause.]

Gentlemen. He is up. This old effete British lion is up, and he is not going to lie down until the terms of this resolution are carried out. [Cheers.] This war is to be prosecuted to a victorious end, and the peace of Europe established thereby for many years to come. [Loud cheers.]

RT. HON. T. J. MACNAMARA

[Speech by the Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, at the Browning Hall Settlement, Walworth, London, on Sunday, January 3, 1915, the Warden, the Rev. F. Herbert Stead, M.A., in the chair.]

YEAR by year, you and I, Mr. Stead, have come here on this day to consider together the prospects of the New Year. We have compared notes as to progress in the Old Year; we have built our hopes of progress in the New.

We have considered the position of Education, Housing, the Poor Law, Old Age Pensions, National Insurance. We have taken stock of advances made. We have formed resolutions as to aims to be achieved in the year before us.

We had no thought save for peace—peace and a quiet time in which we could more and more stamp the golden rule upon our civilization, cure our social shortcomings, and broaden and deepen the foundations of free government dug out and laid for us by the faith, courage, and endurance of our forefathers. We envied no peoples. We rejoiced in the prosperity of all. Peace was our greatest interest.

War! We shrank in horror from the very thought of it. We knew it to be the devilish negation of civilization and Christianity. We foresaw, that, calling in its aid, as it would do, the developments of modern science applied to the fiendish work of destruction, it would spread devastation, ruin, and human suffering to a degree beyond the limit of the mind to realize and measure. We pleaded for the settlement of international disagreements by peaceful arbitrament. You, Mr. Stead, have always been honourably associated with that endeavour. We hated, loathed, and detested the very thought of war.

We knew that even victorious armies come home to broken hearts, widowed mothers, orphaned children, maimed lives. We knew that even while the paper boys cry along the streets the glorious tidings of British victory there comes to many

a tender straining spirit the dread news that strikes desolation to the heart. And with these aims, aspirations, and beliefs, here we are, Mr. Stead, plunged into the most horrible war the world has ever known.

All the old causes you and I cherished so dearly set aside! Never in our lives, now, shall we see them advanced to the stage we had fondly hoped. The millions, so hard to get for education, housing, sounder health, greater comfort, they slip away! They slip away for stores, projectiles, transport, and sorrow, misery, and suffering are their deadly harvest.

Dear lads! Dear lads! They went from amongst us with a cheer and a song on their lips. Many lie in a foreign grave; many beneath the wave. For tens of thousands of homes 1915 comes in, deep-edged with grief and mourning.

And yet, horrible as it all is, we had no alternative. To-day closes the fifth month of this dreadful business. I was deeply convinced on August 4 that we were right to draw the sword against Germany. Every day of the 152 that has since passed has deepened that conviction. It was none of our seeking, none of our making. So far back as 1912 we made this declaration to Germany:

“ Britain declares she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which Britain is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

Through every hour of the weeks preceding this dreadful war, Sir Edward Grey strove for peace as no man had striven before. Germany alone would not say the word which might have spared Europe this awful scourge. Why? To find the answer you have to go back to 1870. In that year Germany conquered and humiliated France, and out of the smoke and welter of Woerth and Saarbruck, and Sedan, and Strasburg and Metz, there emerged a new figure, startling, menacing, full of grave portent. It had crushed France under its iron heel; it proceeded to conquer Germany. It was the figure of arrogant, intolerant, bullying Prussian militarism. Its watchword!—*Might is Right*. Its Court of Arbitration!—the parade ground. Its argument!—shrapnel and the siege gun. Its decalogue!—the drill book.

Just as it had put its heel upon France, so it crushed out the genial old philosophic German spirit.

Flooded with the new wine of its swift and sweeping victory, it swaggered up and down the parade grounds until it came to believe that the will of God was enshrined on its scabbard ; that it was not good for the world to be outside its splendid jurisdiction ; that to Germanize was to evangelize ; and that if those whom it took in hand didn't like its method of regeneration—why, the only thing to do was to redouble the dose !

It had clanked and swaggered up and down so long that it had come to believe that it had only to rattle its sword and every one would at once fall down and in tones of abject fear acclaim its accession to the throne of world destiny and power. *Deutschland uber alles !*

This belief so obsessed it, that everything was subordinated to it.

Treaties, conventions, pledges ! Pooh ! They were the mere expedients of simple unenlightened fools, like Mr. Stead and myself, to whom revelation had not been permitted. There was no harm in signing them. Indeed, they might even be kept if military considerations permitted.

For the rest they were useful in this respect—they lulled silly people into a sense of security under cover of which you could prepare secretly and deliver swiftly the blow that was to extend your power, authority, and opportunity for Germanization.

Steeped in ignorance—unaware of the fact that a new dispensation had dawned—the civilized world might rise indignant at your perfidy and treachery. Nonsense ! They must be taught that whom the Kaiser loveth he chasteneth.

So, full of this mad obsession, full of this frenzied infatuation, full of lust of power and conquest, Germany struck swiftly, blindingly, perfidiously—struck with the forces secretly organized for instant war, while yet the peaceful peoples were unprepared. Its perfidy and treachery were to be justified by its swift and crushing success.

Mr. Stead, over that act of bloody aggression, failure, ignominious and complete, is written. Might—fierce, relentless, ruthless—had failed to bear down Right.

It reckoned without plucky Belgium's heroic stand, I tell you. A thousand years from to-day they will still be singing in the cottages of the world the story of Belgium's heroism. Plucky Belgium ! Its cities ruined ! Its people homeless ! Its altars destroyed !

Much, very much, these Thugs did, can never be atoned for.

You cannot salve the broken heart. You cannot restore the tortured spirit. But so far as material reparation can be made, it shall be made to the uttermost farthing. I pledge every man here to play a man's part to make that good.

On December 2, in the Reichstag, the German Chancellor said, "The world must learn that no one can hurt a hair on the head of a German subject with impunity." In his New Year's message to the Army and Navy, the Kaiser told his forces that behind them stands the entire German nation, prepared to sacrifice its heart's blood for its sacred domestic hearth. There you have the modern German spirit in excelsis. Germany may, in defiance of its pledged word, carry fire and sword through Belgium; it may torture, burn, destroy, murder, outrage. But Germany's domestic hearth is sacred. No hair on the head of a German subject must be touched. What the German has to be taught is this, that the Belgian domestic hearth is just as sacred as his; that the hairs on the Belgian head must be treated with the same respect as he claims for his own. That simple principle of justice the modern German, hypnotized as he is by Prussian militarism, doesn't understand. But he will before we've done with him. He will come out of all this painfully conscious of the fact that his dreams of a German world-empire lie shattered amidst the Belgian ruins. After that, if he is wise, he'll forget Bernhardt and go back to Beethoven. There is no empire for the one; there is an empire for the other—a world-empire.

Germany reckoned without plucky Belgium's heroic stand. It reckoned without France's determination no longer to bend the knee to the bully of Europe. It reckoned without the stone-wall pluck and endurance of a little British Army. Over its first cunningly conceived masterplan failure, ignominious and complete, is written. Be the struggle long or short, that failure sealed Germany's fate.

Carry your minds back five months. What was this swaggering, swollen-headed super-soldier to have accomplished? He was to have been in Paris by the early days of September—in Calais a few days later; whilst by this time an effete and degenerate British mob—masquerading as a democracy—was to have been clasping his legs with piteous appeals for mercy!

That was the boast. What is the fact? What has been accomplished by this sword-clanking bully? He has sacked Louvain; laid the great cathedral of Rheims in ruins; destroyed right and left in Belgium for the mere savage joy of

destruction ; terrified, tortured, and murdered old men and women ; outraged young women and girls ; mopped up countless Jeroboams of champagne ; maimed and killed women and little children in English seaside resorts.

It is a fine foundation on which to build an empire. It is a glittering record to emblazon on the breast of the shining armour !

And concerning it let me tell you this. Against you and yours he will launch every frantic effort venom and hatred can inspire. Belgium ! Belgium merely stood in his way. She had to be brushed aside. For the wrong he has done her he will make reparation. So he told us on August 4.

If you have read the Reports of the Belgian Commission of Enquiry into the conduct of German soldiers during the rest of that month of horrors, and noted how he deals with those who inspire him only with sorrow rather than anger, you may faintly judge how he would handle you and yours if ever you gave him the chance.

Now ! Be under no misapprehension. You are out against the most ruthless, the most cunning, the most desperate, the least chivalrous foe that has ever threatened national existence. Each man and woman must face the alternative all the time. Either we must crush him or be crushed by him. There is no other alternative or possible peace open to you. Many, very many of you, do not realize that I am confident. Every one of us, no matter who or what he is, must individually say to himself : " If I fail to-day, my country fails ! " Hundreds of thousands of gallant lads, unaccustomed to war, trained to peaceful pursuits, have already said that. They have laid aside the pitman's lamp, the builder's level, the carpenter's rule, the ploughman's reins, the navvy's spade, the clerk's ledger, the student's text-book.

But—and there is no good mincing the matter—there still remain many thousands of young fellows without dependents who have not answered the call. The sooner they make up their minds to answer it, the better. If they think they are going to enjoy the freedom and immunity of life under the British flag at some other fellow's expense—if that's to be their line—they won't enjoy it long. The British ideal of Government is that its flag shall float in the skies, a latter-day covenant, assuring all who come under its freedom justice and fair play.

That has not been arrived at by a happy accident. It is

the fruit of centuries of faith, endurance, sacrifice. We who enjoy it do so because of the labours of those who went before. The man who is prepared to enjoy life under the British flag without being grimly determined that he will hand it on as free as he found it, is unworthy of British citizenship.

You have read with pride how the great Oversea Dominions and India have rallied to the flag. There is no limit to their eager readiness to help save the limit of their resources. But now let me read just one testimony only, from amongst hundreds, from the far-off Little Brothers of the Flag.

“To His Excellency The High Commissioner for South Africa.
“Greetings Your Excellency!

PARAMOUNT CHIEF'S OFFICE, MATSIENG,
26th August, 1914.

“YOUR EXCELLENCY,

“I have the honour to inform Your Excellency of my intention with regard to this war which I hear exists between His Majesty King George V. and the Germans.

“I have the honour to ask Your Excellency whether, as my King is engaged in fighting his enemies, I, his servant, would be doing well to keep aloof watching him being attacked by enemies.

“Your Excellency, as I am unable to be with my King in person, I beg to know whether I may show my loyalty and the loyalty of the Basuto to His Majesty the King, by giving monetary assistance, to be raised by calling upon each Mosuto to pay a sum of (1/-) one shilling; which, when collected, I shall send to Your Excellency to be forwarded to His Majesty the King as a contribution to the funds now being raised for relief of sufferers by the war.

“I shall be glad, Your Excellency, if you will kindly reply to this application of mine, as the Basuto and myself are grieved at seeing our King being attacked by enemies when we his servants cannot assist him.

“I shall be glad to receive an early reply from Your Excellency. Greetings.

“Your Excellency's humble servant,

“N. GRIFFITH LEROTHODI,

“Chief of the Basuto.”

The vast majority of our people at home, men and women, have done wonders. But for simple, unaffected devotion and loyalty they won't beat N. Griffith Lerothodi, Chief of the Basuto!

Of course, with all our great industries still going strong—thanks to the silent, splendid sentinel-ship of the great sea-ways, so magnificently maintained by the great service, to be as-

sociated with is, and has been, the greatest honour of my life—there are many men who can't be spared. They are wanted at bench and lathe and furnace. They serve their King and Country just as truly in overalls as in khaki and blue. Let each man of them put the consciousness of a righteous cause behind every swinging blow he delivers.

Many are over the age for effective military service. Whether they be employers or employed their country must come first in every action they perform in 1915.

As for the women! I am deeply touched every time I think of the splendid devotion with which our sisters of all ranks and ages have bent themselves to the task of ministering to the needs of their brothers in the hour of trial. Mr. Stead, I am not one of those who have very much time to spend upon the endeavours to see the good that will come out of all this; but many things have emerged so conspicuously that they have written themselves deeply in my feelings.

Amongst other things that have emerged is the picture of the fine, uncomplaining, good-tempered, high-minded courage and determination of our defenders by land and sea—gallant gentlemen all! They make me feel a better man every time I think of them.

There is the patriotism of political opponents; the standing together shoulder to shoulder of men of all creeds and parties.

And there is the patient, tireless, abiding determination of our women folk to play their part bravely, cheerfully, helpfully. These things are priceless. All the dross of our petty envies and jealousies has been consumed in the fire of adversity. That which has emerged is pure gold—the pure gold of courage, of faith, of respect and admiration one for another. May our national life remain gilded and touched with these attributes long after the day of peril which called them forth has passed.

So we enter the year of destiny 1915! And ere long when we cry, "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?" the reply shall come back to us, "The night is far spent; the day is at hand."

RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW

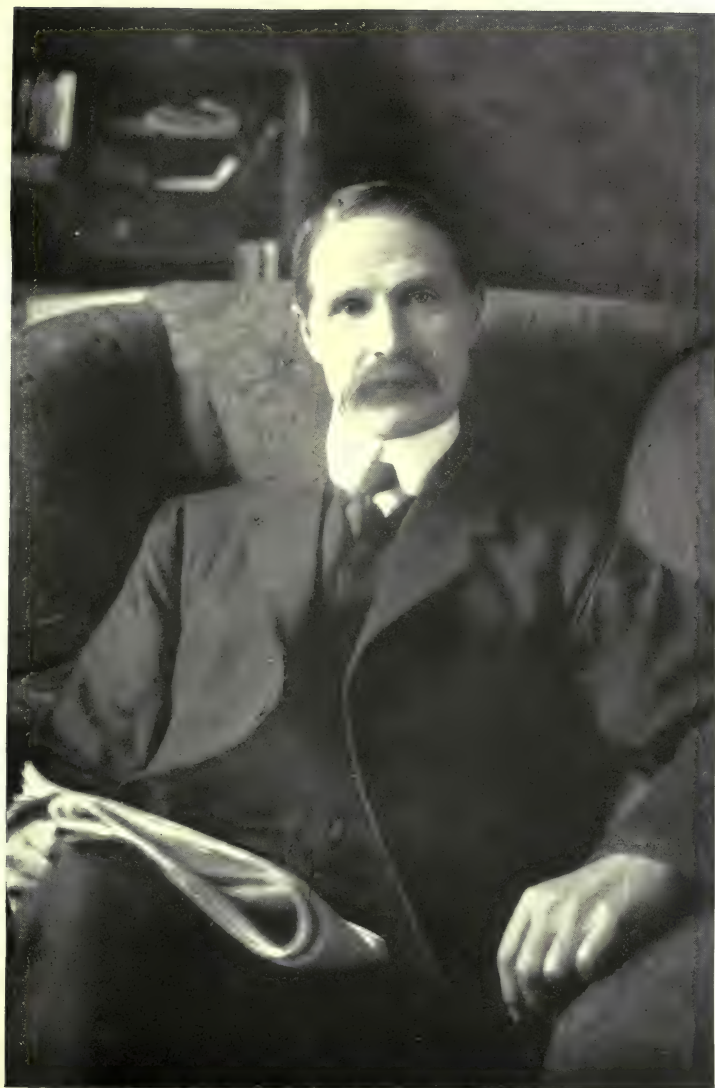
[Speech at a great Ulster Day Anniversary Meeting held in the
Ulster Hall, Belfast, on September 28, 1914.]

MY LORD MAYOR AND GENTLEMEN :—I thank you, not in words only, but from the heart, for the warmth of the welcome which you have given me, and as you, sir [the Lord Mayor], have said, of the sincerity of it no one could have any doubt. [Hear, hear.] It is only the second time that I have had the honour of addressing a great meeting in Ulster, and how different are the circumstances attending the two meetings. At the first, domestic issues, and domestic issues alone, occupied all our minds. Now this meeting is called in connection with the greatest war of which there is any record in history—the greatest not only from the number of men engaged in it, but from the issues which will be decided by it. It is a struggle in which, quite literally, we must conquer, or as a nation we shall perish. [Hear, hear.] The gathering at Balmoral made upon me, as I am sure on every one who witnessed it, an impression which will never be effaced. From that day to this I have been proud—I say this not because I am speaking in Ulster and wish to please you, but because it is true and I feel it—from that day to this I have been proud of the wisdom which, under the guidance of your great leader, has characterized all your actions. [Hear, hear.] Sir Edward Carson and I are more than political associates; we are warm and dear friends—[cheers]—and I hesitate for that reason to say anything in his presence. But perhaps to-night, when he has come to Belfast, not alone—[laughter and cheers]—but accompanied by a gracious companion who will brighten his life and who will strengthen his arm for the great work which still lies before him—[cheers]—I may be permitted to say this, that you have a leader—and I can give him no higher praise—who is worthy of the people whom he leads. [Cheers.] I have been proud of the courage and determination with which at any sacrifice you were prepared to defend the principles

which you had inherited. I have been prouder still of the wisdom and the self-restraint which tempered your courage. But I am proud most of all of this, that even now at the very moment when a great injustice has been inflicted upon you by your Government, you are putting your country first and are sending some of the flower of your people to share the danger and the glory of their fellow-countrymen upon the field of battle. [Cheers.]

Against that injustice I made on behalf of our Party, and on your behalf, a protest in the House of Commons. [Hear, hear.] But having made it, the Unionist Party in Great Britain intend to act as you have acted in Ulster. Until our country is out of danger we shall postpone, and so far as we can we shall forget, domestic quarrels, and if they have to be resumed, we shall take them up not less effectively because of the patriotism which Ulster is displaying to-day. [Cheers.] It is my privilege to-night to give you, on behalf of the British Unionist Party, the message of which Colonel Wallace has spoken.

You remember that at Blenheim I gave the undertaking that we would help you in your just cause. I gave that undertaking on no authority, except the authority derived from the belief that I spoke what our Party thought, and I had the knowledge that if I were mistaken I could no longer occupy the position which I hold. [Cheers.] The message which I bring you to-night comes not from any Party leader ; it comes from every member of the Unionist Party in the House of Commons. And they mean it. [Cheers.] If the occasion arises, we shall support you to the last—[Hear, hear, and cheers]—in any steps which Sir Edward Carson and your leaders think it necessary for you to take to defend your rights. [Loud cheers.] The pledge which I gave at Blenheim had a condition, rightly or wrongly—I think still rightly—but as the leader of a British Party, whatever your duty might have been—and I never judge as to that—it would not have been right for me to support you if the people of this country had declared against you. But now, after what has happened, after the way in which advantage has been taken of your patriotism—[Hear, hear]—I say to you, and I say it with the full authority of our Party, that we give the pledge without any condition. [Loud cheers, the audience standing.] But, gentlemen, it is my hope and my belief that in the sense in which I gave that pledge—that it might be necessary to support it by force—it is my belief that we shall never be



RT. HON. A. BONAR LAW
(LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION)

called upon to redeem it. I have faith, and I think you too can trust to the sense of justice and fair play of your countrymen who will decide, and who have never been against you. [Hear, hear.] It has been said of you men of Ulster, that you are narrow, intolerant bigots. Those who make that charge do not understand you, for they do not know what earnest conviction, what unselfish devotion to a great principle, means. [Hear, hear.] I remember that I said at Balmoral, and you cheered it—and the same thing has been said again and again by your own leader—that you have no ill-will to your Catholic fellow-countrymen. [Hear, hear.] You wish to have them not as enemies, but as friends. [Cheers.] We have heard a good deal—we shall hear more—about the recent meeting in Dublin. [Laughter.] People talk as if it were a victory over you. What nonsense! We are glad if it is true that our Nationalist fellow-countrymen are to a greater extent than before sharing the sympathies which are animating the whole Empire. We are glad of it, but that can never be a reason why you should be deprived of your just rights, for no man and no nation—though I think the Government has forgotten it—can ever be justified in betraying old in order to make new friends. [Cheers.]

Gentlemen, after this war is over, in which men of every class and every race and of every creed throughout the Empire are playing their part, the position will not be the same, and it will not be worse for you. [Cheers.] When we have succeeded—and we shall succeed—[cheers]—in preserving the rights and the liberties of Europe, your rights and your liberties will be respected too—[cheers]—and I am sure of this, that after the sacrifices which you are making, your fellow-countrymen will not tolerate that you should ever again be called upon to defend by force your right—your elementary right—to a full and equal partnership in that United Kingdom which now, as always, you have done so much to strengthen and to defend. [Cheers.]

But, gentlemen, this is not a Home Rule meeting. That can wait, and you are strong enough to let it wait with quiet confidence. This meeting is called to stimulate, though no stimulus is necessary, the men of Ulster to play their part in this world struggle. And in this connection there are two observations which I should like to make at the outset. For a time there were complaints that our people were hanging back. These complaints were never, I think, justified. The

war came so suddenly that as a nation we did not at first realize that for us, just as much as for Belgium or France, it was a struggle for life or death. The hesitation did not last long. [Cheers.] It was not recruiting meetings; it was not speeches, however eloquent. It was the account of the deeds of our soldiers on the field of battle. It was the knowledge of the risks they ran, which would have made cowards hang back, which caused the youth and manhood of our country to rally around the old flag. I am told, gentlemen, that even now pressure of all kinds is being put upon the individual; that men are being stopped in the street and urged to join the Army. To me such methods seem detestable. [Cheers.] If we are to get the men we need by voluntary service—and I believe we can, though it has never been done before—it must be really voluntarily. And you have no right to put pressure upon any man. And how unnecessary it is. Let me give you one instance, one of many in my own experience. A young friend said to me a week or two ago, “I wish to join the Army.” I knew that there were only two of them; that his brother had already joined. I said, “Surely your family has done its duty already.” This was the reply: “This is all very well for the duty of the family, but what about my duty?” And he has gone too. [Cheers.] That is the spirit which is animating all classes throughout this country. [Cheers.] The Germans said, and perhaps believed it, that we were a decadent nation. They have got their answer. [Cheers.] Our soldiers have already had to bear the severest tests to which soldiers can ever be subjected, and they have stood those tests. [Cheers.] They have been faced by the choicest troops in the German army in overwhelming numbers, and they have been unbroken and undefeated. [Cheers.] They have also had to bear the trial which every soldier knows is the worst to which any army can be subjected—that of a forced retreat; they have had to bear it, and they have come out of it gloriously. [Cheers.] We have reason—great reason, as great as we have ever had in our history—to be proud of the deeds of our small army, which, small as it is, was large enough, I believe, to turn the scale and to save Paris. [Hear, hear.] We have reason to be proud of our soldiers, but we have reason to be proud of the spirit with which every one throughout this country and throughout the Empire—and nowhere in a more marked degree than in Ulster—men are rallying round the flag of their country. [Hear, hear.]

The second observation I wish to make is this. Politicians live upon words. [Laughter.] And I had the feeling to which Lord Rosebery gave expression the other day that it is not pleasant to call upon other men to make sacrifices which you do not mean to make yourself. I felt, too, that at a time like this, when they are running risks such as they are running now, our soldiers were not treated quite fairly—that too much of the sacrifices was expected from those who are fighting our battles and too little was demanded from those who remain behind. The position is better now. [Hear, hear.] Better allowances are being given; but even yet, in my belief at least, more ought to be done. The Government, I think, will do more, and they will do it with the whole-hearted approval of the country. [Cheers.] Patriotism and courage cannot be bought—can never be bought; but we must remember that the men who are risking their lives for us are making a big enough sacrifice. And as I said once before, we should recognize that our soldiers who are fighting our battles are the children of the nation, and that they have the first claim, not as an act of charity, but as a right, upon the resources of the State. [Cheers.] Well, gentlemen, this war is one of the greatest crimes, in my belief, which has ever been committed. The whole burden of responsibility for that crime—the whole of it—rests upon one nation, and largely upon one man. [Hear, hear.] When peace or war was trembling in the balance, we knew that the final decision would rest with Berlin. We knew that the head of the German Government had but to issue the note of warning to Austria and there would have been peace. But we know more now. From the despatch of our Ambassador at Vienna, we know that even Austria was ready to accept mediation, and that Germany refused. She thought that the hour for which she had long waited had struck at last, and she declared for war. For a whole generation the whole German nation has been preparing in anticipation of this struggle—a struggle the ultimate aim of which was the destruction of the British Empire. [Hear, hear.] That is shown not only in their literature, but it is shown more clearly still from this, that not content with having the most powerful army in the world, they built a navy which could be directed against us, and us alone. [Hear, hear.]

Gentlemen, that lesson was taught to the German people not only by soldiers in their camps; it was burned into them in their schools and in their universities by their teachers

and by their professors, and this is the result. Prussian militarism and the cruel gospel of blood and iron has altered the aims and has changed the whole character of the German people. [Hear, hear.] Until quite recently the Germans were as little materialistic as any nation—were perhaps the most idealistic of all, and so much so that it was once said of them, and with greater truth than generally applies to such generalization, that while Britain ruled the sea and France the land, Germany ruled the clouds—[laughter]—not with aeroplanes, but with the spirit. All that has changed. They have pulled down their old altars on which glowed the sacred fire which shed its spiritual radiance throughout the world. They have pulled down these altars, and they have erected instead a great temple to their new god, a god of naked force, which knows no blessedness except victory, which knows no right except the right of the sword. That is the spirit against which we are fighting to-day, and not for the first time. A hundred years ago our fathers waged the same battle, and they fought it successfully. [Cheers.] This is Napoleonism once again, but it is Napoleonism without the genius of Napoleon. [Cheers.] There are many resemblances between the two struggles. The part which is being played by our Navy to-day is the same part which was played by it a hundred years ago. Our sailors to-day are keeping a constant, a dangerous, and a wearing vigil on the North Sea, on which the life and very existence of the Empire depends. How unwearying it is and how dangerous was shown in the loss of the three cruisers the other day, which filled our hearts with sorrow not because they meant anything in the war, but because of the loss of life that they involved. But though they filled our hearts with sorrow, we had pride too, for we found that the old spirit still animated our seamen—[cheers]—that in that supreme hour officers and men, without selfishness and without panic, passed nobly to a noble death. [Cheers.] The same vigil was kept by our Fleet a hundred years ago. For something like three years Nelson watched the French ships outside Toulon. Again and again they were driven away by the storms, but they always came back. He had his reward, and at Trafalgar he destroyed for ever the power of Napoleon to touch these shores. But, gentlemen, the greatest analogy is moral. It was the aggression of Napoleon which slowly but surely roused against him the moral forces of the world, and those forces found expression in the war of liberation which

overthrew him. The moral forces which were against Napoleon at the end of the war are against the German Emperor to-day, and will overthrow him. [Cheers.]

We have been taught to admire the perfection and the efficiency of German preparation. So far as their army is concerned that admiration is well deserved, but in every other sphere they have made every mistake which men could make, so much so that one has the feeling that the old Roman saying applies to them: "That whom the gods intend to destroy they first drive mad." [Cheers.] The mistakes have all been of one kind. They have so worshipped force that they not only did not acknowledge, but they could not understand, moral forces. They are struck with moral blindness. That is the secret of their mistakes. They have made it with Italy. They thought that Italy was bound to follow a captive at the German chariot wheels. They could not understand that they might refuse to take part in a war of naked aggression. They made the same mistake with Belgium. Their preparations for invading France had been made years ago. They always intended to go through Belgium, and they assumed that when the hour came they had only to send an ultimatum to Belgium, as they sent it, and that they would get their way. They could not understand that a small nation with an army which, compared with theirs, was so contemptible, should prefer honour to ease, should prefer freedom even to security. [Cheers.] They made the mistake, and they have paid for it. [Cheers.] And in revenge they have inflicted upon Belgium horrid cruelties which are crying aloud—and will not cry in vain—to Heaven for vengeance. [Cheers.]

They are making the same mistake to-day in the way they are trying to influence the opinion of neutral countries. They have an Embassy in America to propagate sympathy for Germany. They cannot understand that any statements, however plausible, that any inventions, however false, must be worse than useless when they are followed instantly by the knowledge of the facts, when the American people learn—as we are told—that for every Belgian soldier who has fallen three non-combatants have been killed—[Shame]—when they learn that Germany has, in sacking Louvain, in the destruction of the cathedral at Rheims, adopted methods which have not been heard of in civilized warfare for hundreds of years. That is their mistake. And they have made the same mistake with us. I do not mean that they made the mistake of supposing

that you people here in Ulster would prevent Great Britain from defending her position. That would have been too stupid. One could have understood it if you had taken up arms in order to separate yourselves from England—[Hear, hear]—but you took them up in order that you might remain with England. [Cheers.] The cause for which we are fighting is not one whit more the cause of London than it is the cause of Belfast. But they thought it would be possible for us to turn a deaf ear to the cry of Belgium when she besought us to fulfil the pledge of honour which bound us, and come to her aid in her hour of need. They thought that we would prefer ease and profit to the ultimate interests even of our own country. They were mistaken. And they have made other mistakes. They believed that the outbreak of war would be the signal for the falling away from the Empire of the self-governing dominions. They have got their answer. [Cheers.] We have no power, and if we had the power we have not got the will to force any one of these dominions to give us their help. It is not needed. They are not helping us. It is more than that. They feel that it is their cause as much as ours. [Hear, hear, and cheers.]

And this very war which was to disintegrate us is welding the Empire more closely together. [Cheers.] They made the same mistake about India. They thought that the outbreak of war would be the signal for a new Indian mutiny, and because they have been mistaken that has not prevented them from circulating a lie as if it were the truth in many neutral countries of the world. They were mistaken. The outbreak of war was not the signal for a mutiny. It was a signal for a spontaneous and enthusiastic outburst on the part of the princes and the people of India of loyalty to their Emperor and of patriotism to the Empire of which we have more reason to be proud than of the conquest of India itself. [Cheers.] It is no wonder that it is against us, as we know, the German enmity is strongest now. It is right that it should be so. The force which binds our Empire together is the very antithesis of the force on which they alone rely. It is a moral force on which we rely. [Cheers.] Well, gentlemen, it is not for us who are putting on our armour and are urging you to put on yours to boast as those who are taking it off. This is no time for boasting. It is a time to seriously recognize that we are fighting brave men, and men, who as the sober despatch from our own Army in the field tells us, are fight-

ing for victory without regarding the means by which they will get it. It is no time to boast, but after all we have already every reason to be proud of what, as a nation, we have done. We have every reason to feel that at this stage the war has gone from our point of view better than at the outset we had a right to expect. And we can say now with confidence that, whether it be long or short, of the result there can and will be no doubt. [Cheers.]

It is still less a time to talk of peace, but I see that people already are saying that Germany must not be humiliated. We have no desire to humiliate the German people. I have it as little as any man. Even now, in the midst of the war, I am not ashamed to say that I have always been fond of German literature, and I have loved the old German spirit of which that literature is the expression. Only this year, at the beginning of it, I took one of my sons to Germany to learn their language and their literature, and he got back in time, but only in time. We have no desire to humiliate the German people, but we are determined that this war, with all the cruel suffering that it has entailed and will entail, shall not be fought in vain. [Cheers.] We are determined that in our time and that of our children never again shall that dread spectre which has haunted us as a nightmare have the power to frighten us. We have put our hands to the plough, and we shall not turn back until we have made sure that the law not of might, but of right, that the law not of force, but of humanity and justice, is the law which must govern the world. [Loud and prolonged cheers.]

EARL OF ROSEBERY

[Speech at a great patriotic meeting held at Broxburn, Linlithgow, on Saturday, September 5, 1914. The delivering of this speech created a profound impression, being marked by passionate emphasis and dramatic gesture.]

COLONEL CHALMERS :—When you telegraphed to me yesterday to ask me to come here to-day I telegraphed back at once to say I would, and come gladly—not to make a long speech, not to dilate on any of the current topics to which in times of peace you are so accustomed, but to talk for a moment about this terrible war, and the causes which have led up to it. We meet at a very solemn moment in the history of our country—more solemn, I think, than any that has occurred in the history of the world. And yet a month ago—let us say on the first of August—we were all at peace. There was scarcely a thought of war. And within a month our armies have been hewing their way through desperate odds. We have had two lists of casualties, and may soon have a third or a fourth. Our Fleet has been in action, and the whole face of Europe is convulsed, as by an earthquake, with the march of millions of armed men. What a change, and in so short a time ! And how did this change come about ? We shall not know for some years to come the secret history of what brought about this war. But we know the simple outside facts, the simple surface facts, that Austria declared war against Serbia, that Russia declared she must stand by Serbia, that Germany said she must stand by Austria, and that France said she must stand by Russia.

It was really a spark in the midst of this great powder magazine which the nations of Europe have been building up for the past twenty or thirty years—a spark alighting in that tremendous powder magazine, which, with infinite toil—misapplied toil, I think—the nations of Europe have been constructing. When you go on building up armaments against each other there comes a time when either the guns go off by themselves, or else the people say : “ We can no longer bear this burden of suspense ; we had better make an end of it, and

come to blows at once." Well, these are the surface facts of the war; I do not propose to take you further, because I really do not know. I do not know if some great organizer deliberately planned this war. Without evidence I should be loth to lay such a burden on the soul of any man, because, whoever he be, the curse of humanity will pursue him to the end. [Cheers.] Where did we come in? I have been telling you about Austria, Russia, and the rest, but where do we come in? We first came in for peace, and all through the correspondence that led up to the declaration of war you will see that our Government, and, of course, its mouthpiece and skilful agent, Sir Edward Grey, was skilful and energetic and untiring in trying to suggest modes by which peace might be preserved. I do not think that he had a fair chance, because the time was too short, and all the time the armies were being mobilized, and when armies are being mobilized war becomes almost inevitable, but at any rate that was our part in the general contention of Europe—Peace. Our second was this—Honour. [Cheers.] We were parties to a Treaty to which France and the Kingdom of Prussia were also parties, guaranteeing the independence and the integrity of Belgium. [Cheers.] We determined rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, but I think rightly and wisely—[cheers]—that so long as any power remained in the arm of Great Britain she was bound not to go back upon her pledged word to Belgium—[cheers]—and so she determined that if Germany were determined to violate her word Great Britain would not violate hers. Peace and Honour, that was what we stood for. [Cheers.]

Now, suppose it had been possible for us—and I am sure every Government in Britain must always wish for peace—suppose that it had been possible for us to stand aside, at any rate for a moment, and to say that, as Germany does not respect her word, we will not respect ours—suppose we had been able to maintain peace at the price of that degradation, how long should we have been able to maintain it? [Hear, hear.] Even if we had allowed Germany unopposed to violate the Treaty of Belgium, and had stood on one side, how long should we have endured to see the oppression and slaughter of a small but gallant people—[loud cheers]—in defence of their territory, which we had guaranteed to them? Belgium is at this moment a welter of fire and blood and destruction—all wrought by one of the Powers that had sworn to guarantee her. [Cries of "Shame."] How long would the British people

have endured such a spectacle at their doors as that? We should have gone in at once, gone in too late; we should only have had the remorse of our first hesitation. [Cheers.]

And now I shall not detain you long. [Cries of "Go on."] I want now to say a word as to how this crisis comes home to ourselves. This is the greatest war that the world has ever seen; beyond all comparison the greatest war that the world has ever seen. The Battle of Leipzig, in which Russia, Austria, and Prussia fought against the Emperor Napoleon and crushed him was called "The Battle of the Nations." But it was not the battle of the nations; it was the battle of great armies. It was reserved for this war to be the battle of the nations. Every man on the Continent of Europe who can bear arms is under arms at this moment—[cheers]—excepting Spain, and Portugal, and Italy, and the Balkan Peninsula, though there are a good many under arms there. Among all the Great Powers of Europe, except Italy, every man at this moment is under arms. We are not in that position. We have never gone in for conscription; we have never demanded that every man should bear arms for his country, though, remember this, that, by the common law of Great Britain, every man, valid and capable of bearing arms, is bound at the call of his country to do so. [Hear, hear, and cheers]. You may say: "It is all very well; you are an elderly gentleman; you will not be called out; you will sleep in your bed at night; you will have your meals. It is easy for you to come and exhort us, who are younger and are able to fight, to go out to the war." But I do not think, after all, the position of us, the elderly ones, who have to dwell among the sheepfolds and listen to the bleating of the flock, while you go out to war, is so much preferable to your position. It is an indication, at any rate, that we are in the decline of vigour, and in the sere and yellow leaf; and do you suppose there is one single man of my age who would not gladly exchange for one of yours and go out to the front? [Cheers.]

It is a war of nations; and our nation, if it is to uphold itself, will not be able to remain aloof. We are fighting on the Continent, it is true, but we are fighting in defence of Great Britain. [Cheers.] There is one thing that is perfectly clear in all this matter, which is that those who go out to fight, fight in a righteous cause. We are fighting for the independence of Belgium against a Power which guaranteed it and has destroyed it. We are fighting for the freedom of France, a

friendly Power, which is allied with ourselves. But we are also fighting for the sanctity of the public law of Europe, which, if our enemies be the conquerors, is torn up and destroyed for ever. [Cheers.] When the German Foreign Secretary was asked if he was really going to infringe the neutrality of Belgium he said, "You are not going to war for that—going to war for a scrap of paper?" A great Power which treats scraps of paper like that is not unlikely to be scrapped itself. [Cheers.] The German Chancellor, when he vindicated this policy in Parliament, said, "We knew we were doing wrong in invading the neutrality of Belgium, but we were compelled to do wrong." The nation that begins a great war by declaring that its foundations are wrong, and it is obliged to do wrong, is likely to fare badly if there be a God in heaven. [Cheers.] Then we are not merely fighting for Belgium, for France, and the sanctity of public law, but we are also fighting for ourselves. We do not fight to gain an acre of territory, we do not fight to gain any advantage for ourselves, we only fight to secure our own liberties against an oppression which would be intolerable. [Cheers.]

I know we have seen wars in our time in which the loss of a province or two ended the war. That will not be so now. We have seen wars in which an indemnity of money put an end to the war. That will not be so now. We may lose territory and we may lose money, but what is certain is this, that if we are beaten to our knees, if we are compelled to submit, we shall lose infinitely more than provinces or money. Make no mistake, gentlemen, this is a fight to a finish. [Loud cheers.] If we go under now we go under for ever. [Cries of "Never!"] I do not ask you to suggest to yourselves that you will go under for a moment, but if you are not to go under every man who is capable of defending his country is bound to step into the breach. [Cheers.] Just think, try to imagine what it would be if we were beaten. I do not suppose we should be annexed as a province—that is unthinkable—to see foreign uniforms, foreign police, foreign laws, foreign tax-gatherers in our country. That I discard as absolutely impossible. But there is another very improbable danger which might happen, which would happen if we were defeated, and that is we would be reduced at once to an inferior Power, living at the goodwill of our superior lord, living on sufferance, our Army limited, our Navy limited, our Empire cut up and divided among the plunderers, a position so abject that we cannot realize it now.

The other day, speaking to my regiment near Edinburgh, I was reported to have said—but I beg to say there were no reporters there—that I would rather see Britain wiped out than one third-rate Power extinguished. I said nothing of the kind. I did not say it if only for this one reason, that I suppose the third-rate Power indicated was Belgium, and I for one would never call Belgium a third-rate Power. [Cheers.] In territory, in wealth, in population, in military and naval power she may not be more than third-rate, but in incomparable valour, in noble patriotism, in heroic resistance she has all the moral claims to be a first-rate Power that any country could possess. [Cheers.] But what I did say was this, that if we were to sink to a third-rate Power in the position I have described, I, for one, would from my heart and soul rather that all our people, as they now exist, were to pass into exile or into death, and leave this island vacant for some superior race. [Cheers.]

Well, gentlemen, I can end, at any rate, in a more cheerful vein. Make no mistake about it, we shall win. [Loud cheers.] We are fighting with our back to the wall to prevent a shame and a defeat such as England has never sustained.

We are fighting now with our backs to the wall to prevent an ignominy and a defeat such as Great Britain has never sustained, and is not prepared to endure. We are going to win because a nation and an Empire like ours cannot be extinguished by any such warfare as this. [Cheers.] We are going to win because we have our people united as they have never been before ; we are going to win because our Dominions, our Empires outside these islands, vie with each other in generous emulation—[cheers]—as to which shall give us most support, in supplies and money and men ; and, above all, we are going to win because we have a high, a pure, and a just cause—[cheers]—and we can appeal with humble but, I think, earnest confidence to Him Whom, in the words of our beautiful old Paraphrase, we recognize as the

God of Bethel, by whose hand
Our people still are fed.

T. P. O'CONNOR

[T. P. here gives expression to his views on the German Nation and on the War and its issues.]

THIS Great War is to me not merely a fight between nations ; it is even more a fight between ideals ; it is a spiritual as well as a material fight. It is not enough that we beat down the armies of Germany and of Austria ; *that* we shall do, though it take a long time, galleons of treasure, and oceans of blood. We have even more to beat down and destroy for ever the most pernicious, the most wicked and the most insane gospel that ever took possession of a nation and drove its people to the madness which precedes destruction.

Of the hundreds of articles I have read since this War began, the one which brought most light to me was a passage in a letter from Sir Valentine Chirol, in which he related a conversation he had had many years ago with the late Herr Bebel, the great leader of the Socialist party. This is the passage :

“About twenty years ago I was watching with Herr Bebel a Prussian regiment of Foot Guards marching out of the Brandenburg Gate at Berlin. The Socialist leader told me with some pride that more than half of them were probably Social Democrats. I asked him whether, in the event of war, that would make the slightest difference ; and he replied to me quite frankly : ‘ No, I am afraid not the slightest. Nothing will happen until Germany has been sobered by a great military catastrophe. *Das volk ist noch immer siegestrunken.*’ (The people are still drunk with victory.)”

Drunk with victory !—that is the most lucid and complete and terse summing up of the German state of mind which has ever appeared. We have had to deal for nearly half a century with a nation which was in a state of drunken, and therefore insane, megalomania. It is quite true that the whole nation, perhaps, did not share this gospel ; Herr Bebel and

those whom he represented foresaw the abyss of horror and ruin to which this gospel would lead ; but the Socialists of Germany beat their heads in vain against the steel-clad fortress behind which the Kaiser, the Army, and Junkerdom lay entrenched.

I will endeavour to back up every assertion I may make, and give incontestible proof of what I have just said ; we have been dealing with a nation drunk and mad with megalomania.

And the megalomania has been of the most pernicious form. Just as some insanities are gentle and harmless, and other insanities are homicidal, so this megalomania of Germany has been militarist, and therefore homicidal. It is now known that Germany has preached, and has, alas ! given its fullest and most ardent faith to this new decalogue—*Might is right ; war is not only unavoidable, but desirable, moral, elevating, necessary to the sound spiritual and physical health and general progress of a nation.* The world does not consist of separate races, with their right to individual self-development, but of a series of inferior races, all to be brought under the iron heel of German militarism, and under the spiritual domain of what is called German culture. What is the truth, in opposition to this claim, at once so arrogant and so ignorant ?

The world has been divided by the divine and unerring hand of Nature into peoples who speak different tongues, profess different religions, the blood in whose veins comes from different sources, who dwell under different suns and till different earths. But the German soldier in his pickelhaube and the German professor in his spectacles come along, and declare Germany is wiser and more powerful than Nature. Nature deliberately created diversity ; the Germans will substitute uniformity ; and the uniformity means that every race, creed, and nation shall be all put into the German mould. The fool hath said in his heart, " There is no God " ; the German hath said in his heart, " There is no truth or persistent or irresistible purpose in Nature which is of God."

The world has had different prophets, testifying to what is best in humanity throughout the ages ; prophets of good, prophets of evil. The prophet whom the greatest part of civilized humanity follows to-day is Christ ; the prophet whom the German soldier and professor put forth as the ideal is Napoleon. As Professor Cramb, a partial admirer of German methods, summed it up : Corsica has conquered Galilee. In

this War the Allied Powers are fighting for the gospel of Galilee and against the gospel of Corsica.

If I examine the issues from the social and political as well as from the spiritual point of view, again I find that we are fighting in this War for wisdom against insanity. Might is right, says the German. That is to say, that the weak have no rights, save such as the strong mercifully extend to them. Belgium, a little nation, stands in the way of the giant strength and fell purpose of Germany ; sweep her away ; burn her cities and monuments ; kill not only her gallant soldiers, but her women and her babes ; add the dishonour of violation to the mothers who have seen their children butchered before their eyes. It may be lamentable, replies the German philosophy ; indeed, the Kaiser has wept over it all ; but what I insist on is that violated women, butchered babes, just as much as the death in the open field of hundreds of thousands of men, is the inevitable, the logical, even, from the point of view of the Prussian soldier, the desirable, result of war. I take up a paper and I read that a German aeroplane has in Paris taken off the leg of a little baby girl of six years of age—a baby girl of six years of age walking with her grandfather to church, and in a second she is a bleeding mass ; not, unhappily, killed, but saved to limp for life till death brings merciful relief. Just think of it !

To every human heart, however callous, childhood retains its imperishable and indestructible appeal. Our great poet Wordsworth spoke of children as coming into this world not naked, “ but trailing clouds of glory from heaven, which is their home.” And heaven is in the eyes of every child. If it were not so, the world would have perished long ago. It is to re-shape what we have failed to shape properly ; to bring light where we have known darkness ; to save the pure young soul from the sins that have soiled our own in life’s bitter struggle with the world outside, and the more perilous world of passions, weaknesses, and appetites within ourselves ; it is to re-make in our little way the world for this new being that has come through us on to its chequered life—this is the impulse that keeps the millions of the world, white or black, Western or Eastern, civilized or savage, storing yearly their little meed of wheat, or wine, or oil. And this German aeroplane is the welcome which war, after German methods, gives to this angelic visitant to our earth—to this little baby girl six years old !

Do not tell me in protest that I am making out the German soldier as a brute, free from all the great ordinary universal instincts of the father. Such a charge would be wicked and insane. The horrors of this War have been touched with instances of the wistful tenderness with which the German soldier has taken the little children of his enemy on his knee, and pressed them to his lips and to his eyes, hungry, perchance, with his memories of like children left in his desolate and weeping home, far away in a German street or far-off village. But what I do contend is that the gospel of war, the gospel that war is a high, a noble, an inspiring, an elevating thing, which the Prussian militarist philosophy teaches, must be judged by its fruits; must be judged by its inevitable results. The smooth and suave language of the soldier in his barrack-room, or the professor in his study hall, or the parson in his pulpit, must be brought down to their final test by what their principles carry with them in the concrete. It is not the wretched and enslaved instrument of this hideous gospel that I blame; it is the men who have preached and made this gospel—it is your Treitschkes, your Nietzsches, your Bernhardis, your Drysanders, your Kaisers, your Bismarcks. Before the great Court of Humanity, I indict these men as preaching the gospel of the devil; and them I hold responsible for the hell which this gospel has created; I bring as tragic witnesses in this great Court against them, not merely every soldier who has fallen, but every woman that has been murdered and violated, and every child that has been mutilated or massacred.

These, then, are the first counts in my indictment of the devilish system of philosophy and of action against which our forces are fighting. Let me go to the other counts. Nature, as I have said, by diversity of climate, soil, colour, blood, has insisted that the world shall be divided into different communities, which we term nations. It is no accident of history that some of these nations are large, some of them small. You are violating not merely a law of man, but a law of nature, when you make war on the small nation and refuse to acknowledge its rights and its liberties; but in the German gospel there is no law of nature or of man, which has any existence outside the German will and the German necessity. Again, the language of pseudo-science and of false history is brought in to justify these doctrines. Again, it is an insane as well as a wicked gospel. “The Will to Power”; “World Do-

minion or Downfall " ; or " The Beautiful Blonde Beast "—these are the high-flowing terms rushing in a deep, rich, abundant stream through innumerable volumes—a stream as wide, as deep, as rich as the blood of hundreds of thousands of human beings that this infernal gospel has brought to cruel and untimely death.

Again, I say, it is a gospel as insane as it is wicked. It is a conflict with nature ; it is the crude idea, which it would be calumnious to Paganism to call Pagan, that man consists of body alone. Man's soul still remains unconquerable. Scatter into bleeding fragments millions of his bodies with your howitzers, Man's soul rises from the million corpses, in its everlasting youth, in its indestructible immortality. These spiritual forces, which your gospel of war ignores, are no more capable of being destroyed than a great river or the incarnadine sea. And of these spiritual forces there is none more indestructible than the principle of race and of nationality. Watch this mighty stream ; for tens of thousands of years it has flowed on. Ten thousand summers have dried it up to a trickling stream ; ten thousand winters have imprisoned it in the bonds of ice. But it still flows on, and will flow on, till it reaches the sea, to the very end of time. And so it is with the principle of race and of nationality. Bloody battle-fields, scaffolds, gaols, have tried to dry or to freeze its course ; but it goes on until it also reaches the sea, which to it is freedom.

Apply this Prussian gospel of militarism to the laws within the State, and again it is as insane as it is wicked. Smooth, suave, unctuous again it is in language ; but look at it as it works out in the concrete. It is again might against right. As to Germany herself, even to her own people it is a gospel which has lost the intellectual support of all that is really intellectual and really good in the nation. If you were to produce what has been said of this gospel in the organs of advanced German thought, you would find the indictment to be far more crushing than anything I could express. For what is the Government of Germany to-day ? It can be summed up in a few words. The country and all its destinies lie in the hands ultimately of a few men ; and these men, in their turn, are held in bondage by one of the most selfish classes that ever ruled and ruined a nation. The Prussian Junker—is there any type more detestable or more disastrous or more sinister in the history of nations ? He takes from

Germany every toll that organized injustice and inequality can wring. He is the head and front of the whole militarist and official system. From his ranks come those who live on the millions which the nation has to pay every year for the upkeep of the gigantic Army and the gigantic Fleet. It is all a gigantic, highly organized citadel of wrong. Wait a while ; this War of Liberation will liberate Germany.

So it is with those of the German race themselves ; but how about those others that live in the abysmal depths of racial persecution ? Again put in juxtaposition the smooth, suave, unctuous language, and the hideous and logical concrete. It may be all summed up in the one word—Zabern. The Dane of Schleswig-Holstein ; the Pole of Posen ; the Frenchman of Alsace-Lorraine ; they have all to live under the same iron heel of Prussian militarism. The gaols have often been filled ; sometimes because a frank word has dared to find flaws in the shining armour of the megalomaniac who sits on the throne ; sometimes because the oppressed race clings to the language or the ideals of the race whose blood flows in its veins ; sometimes the rod descends from the man in the workshop or the field to the child who toddles to the school. But it is not the full gaols that represent the oppression. The chill of the cell, the grey granite of the prison wall, are not as cruel as the broad, encompassing air of ubiquitous oppression in all these provinces. Every man, every woman, every child, feels all around the rule of the harsh conqueror to the helpless conquered. Be brave, oppressed and darkened hearts ; give wings to your unconquerable souls ; the arms of free England and of free France are hurrying up to your prison-house, and soon the doors will be unlocked, and you will breathe the air of freedom once again.

By their fruits you shall know them. Judge, then, the wisdom and the veracity of this Prussian gospel by what has happened since this War begun ; put, above all, in juxtaposition the conflicting ideals of the Prussian system and the system of the great free Empire to which we belong, for whose defence our soldiers are shedding their precious blood. There isn't a true Dane, a true Pole, a true Frenchman, within the broad dominions of the German Empire, that doesn't in his heart long for the hour when the blood-stained vulture-eagle of Prussia is stretched helpless, with broken wings and battered beak, on the ground. Nay, there is no civilized land in the world which does not look eagerly for the overthrow of that

hideous system which Frederick the Great began, Bismarck continued, and the Kaiser William has put to its final test.

How is it with us? It was almost worth the cost in blood and treasure of this War that we should have brought together in such bonds of love and defence and enthusiasm the far-flung States and races of our world-wide Empire. Was there ever in the history of mankind through all the ages any such vindication of an Empire and of a system as that which we have seen within the last few weeks? The Boers, arrayed in fierce battle against us but a few years ago, have rushed to our defence; the glory and the beauty of our generous, large-hearted free Empire has won them. From India the princes and the peoples, the warriors and the priests, the contented and those in revolt, have commingled their arms and their prayers for the victory of the arms of that Empire which has joined their warring races and creeds under the majestic and reconciling fabric of the Pax Britannica. Our colonies, the children of our loins and the heirs of our institutions, are rushing to our banners. Ireland, but lately a sullen and hostile sister, and divided, apparently, by unbridgeable gulfs of creed and race, has to-day but one rivalry—the rivalry as to which race and which creed will put forth the larger measure of its blood for the defence of our Empire and our ideals. Oh! you wretched Treitschkes and Nietzsches and Bernhardis, where is your gospel of war and might and slavery now, in face of these million men who are rushing to the battlefield, brought thither by the irresistible magnet of freedom in a free Empire?

These, then, seem to my mind the issues of this War. These have seemed to me the issues from the very first hour the war-cloud appeared on the horizon. The Germans demand world-wide dominion; and they demand it so that they may make the world subservient to the German race and to the Prussian system. To me that would be the end in the world of all that every free man, every sane man, and every Christian man holds dear. It would be the victory of the Empire of military despotism over the free Empire of free institutions and free men. It would be the return of a despotism which has no more relation to the life of to-day, than the rule of the savage, roaming in the primeval forest, who won his food by slaying his fellow-man. It would be the crushing out of all that intellectual, spiritual, and national side of the human soul which alone makes the world possible.

We make no blasphemous and childish and pagan appeal to a tribal God, with a pickelhaube for a halo and a sword dripping with men's and women's and children's blood for a sceptre. We appeal to Galilee with its gospel, not of slavery, as the wretched Nietzsche shrieked in his delirium, and as Bernhardt writes in his brutal gospel of war, but as the gospel at once of freedom, justice, humanity, and peace among all men of goodwill.

Corsica against Galilee : this is the fundamental issue for which you are fighting, noble soldiers of ours, to-day. Happy warriors, whatever your fate ; though you die, you will live for ever. A little cross, a single stone, will mark the spot where many of you may lie in indiscriminate heaps ; the ashes of some of you are already commingling with the roots from which will spring the rich grass or the ripe corn. Others of you will be commemorated by statue, by tablet, in stone and in bronze. But you will have, whether in your obscure and unvisited graves or in your great mausoleums, a richer and a more imperishable monument ; a monument which neither time nor war nor malice can ever destroy. The stories of your heroic lives and noble deaths can no more perish than the ocean that laps our shores. To the end of our history, generations will hear and brood over and drink in the story of your deeds ; and millions yet unborn will fight the inner conflict between the good and the evil guardian on the battle-ground of every human soul ; and millions will learn to turn the balance to the right side, and live more nobly and die more bravely, because you lived so nobly and died so bravely.

Galilee against Corsica ! You fight for Galilee. It may be that you also will have to pass through the bloody sweat of your Gethsemanes, through the cruel Calvary of death ; and you may find your last homes in the Golgothas of the battlefield. But from your perishable bodies your pure souls will rise on white wings beyond the stars.

JOHN REDMOND

[Speech at a great patriotic meeting held in the Free Trade Hall,
Manchester, on March 17, 1915.]

MR. CHAIRMAN :—If there is one thing more than another which I most value about this meeting it is its character. I have often, in the octave of St. Patrick, had to speak in Manchester, but I have on these occasions addressed myself only to the Irish people of Manchester. I am proud to know that the present meeting is one not of Irishmen alone ; but of Englishmen as well—[cheers]—firmly united in a common purpose. [Cheers.] I am proud to think it is a meeting of the representatives of every political party which existed in this country before the war, and the mere assembling of such a meeting in this great English centre is a proof of the profound and ineradicable change which has come over the Irish question.

When this war is over, we will all of us, of all previous parties, go back to the consideration of political questions in a new political world. [Cheers.] Ireland has been admitted by the democracy of England, upon equal terms, to her proper place in an Empire in the building of which she had as much to do as England herself—[cheers]—and she has taken that place with perfect and absolute good faith and loyalty. In ordinary circumstances this St. Patrick's Day of 1915 would have been for us a day of triumph, of universal congratulation and jubilation. But alas ! for Ireland, the mother of sorrows, we are met to-day in a moment of suffering and of deep tragedy. The moment for our jubilation is postponed. The shadow of war—ay, the shadow of death—hangs heavily over our people and our country, and our first and most immediate duty at this moment is not to give expression to triumph over our political successes, not to take part in jubilation or congratulation, but to do, every man and woman of us, what we can to see that Ireland bears her right and honourable part in the duty that is cast upon us. [Cheers.]

From the day of the declaration of war to this moment I

have not made one single controversial political speech, and I have spoken in every province in Ireland to the greatest and most united and most enthusiastic meetings that I ever faced in the whole of my political experience. My one theme has been to impress upon Ireland the duty of taking a part to-day worthy of her history and her traditions. The one political hope I have ventured to express, and I express it again here with all the fervour of my soul, is that when the war is over the common dangers which all Irishmen of all creeds and all parties have faced together, the commingling of their blood upon the battle-field and their death side by side like brothers in a foreign land, may have the effect of utterly and completely and for ever obliterating the bitterness and divisions and hatreds of the past, so that the new Constitution we have won may be inaugurated in a country pacified by sacrifices and amongst a people united by the memory of common suffering. [Cheers.]

This is the first speech I have had the opportunity of making in Great Britain since the outbreak of the war, and I will confine myself to considering what the Irish race has done since the declaration of war. I am proud to make the boast that every section of Ireland has bravely and nobly done its duty. [Cheers.] I wish to draw no invidious distinctions between one section of my countrymen and another. You will remember the circumstances of Ireland are peculiar. For more than half a century the flower of her manhood has been fleeing from her shores to distant lands. No part of Ireland has suffered more than another. The emigration from Ulster has been, if anything, greater than the emigration from the other provinces. In the last sixty years over four millions of people have emigrated from Ireland. Since the year 1900 over half a million have emigrated, and two-thirds of the people who have gone have been young men of military age. I will not dwell on the sad political causes which ended in this emigration, but every man to-day must deplore the fact that for these reasons Ireland is not able to make a contribution in men towards this war such as she would have been able to make, if political and social and economic conditions had allowed her population even to remain stationary. Happily, for all of us, the drain of emigration has now been arrested. Last year, 1914, was the first year since the great famine, when the population of Ireland actually increased. [Cheers.] The emigration for last year was fifty per cent. less than it was the year before.

[Cheers.] It must also be remembered that Ireland is purely an agricultural country, and at present there is a great dearth of agricultural labour in many parts. There are few great centres of population after Dublin and Belfast, and yet in spite of these facts Ireland's contribution to the army has been of a truly remarkable kind. [Cheers.] The Irish Government have given me some figures which they have laboriously collected from every parish in Ireland with reference to enlistments. These figures show that up to February 15 there were Irishmen from Ireland with the colours to the number of 99,704. [Cheers.] Recruiting is going on at the present moment at the rate of about 4,000 a month. From December 15 to January 15 there were 3,858 recruits; from January 15 to February 15 there were 4,601 recruits. It has been stated that at the Grafton Street recruiting office in Dublin they are now getting over five times as many recruits as they got in August and September, and that the men are still coming in from all parts of the city and county of Dublin. There are so-called Unionists, so-called Nationalists, and—it is interesting to note—so-called Sin Feiners. [Laughter.] All young men now seem to be imbued with a new idea of their duties and responsibilities. There were with the colours on February 15, 20,210 men who had been actually enrolled and disciplined and drilled members of the Irish National Volunteers—[cheers],—and there were 22,970 Ulster Volunteers with the colours.

The volunteers presented one of the most extraordinary spectacles ever seen in the history of our country. There are to-day in Ireland two large bodies of volunteers. One is called the Ulster Volunteers, the other is called the National Volunteers. They are partially armed and partially drilled, but they are all filled with the true military sentiment and spirit. Fifty thousand of them have joined the army, and of the rest many are not of military age, are not physically fit, or are prevented from joining the army by just the same reasons as prevented thousands of men in this country. But these men are all quite capable of home defence. On August 3 in the House of Commons I told the Government that, for the first time in the history of the relations between England and Ireland, Ireland could be left safely to the defence of her own sons, and I appealed to the Government to allow the Irish to undertake that duty. At the same time I made an appeal to the Ulster Volunteers to join hands with the National

Volunteers in this work. I wish to make no complaint, but I think it right to say that I have received no response to either appeal. The Prime Minister on August 10 said the Government were seriously considering how the volunteers could be utilized, but that Lord Kitchener's first duty was to raise his new army. "Subject to that," Mr. Asquith said, "and concurrent with it, he will do everything in his power to arrange for the full equipment and organization of the Irish volunteers. Up to this time nothing has been done. Early in the war the Irish volunteers made an offer whereby 20,000 men could have been made available for home defence, so that not a single regular soldier need be detained from the front for that purpose. The offer has not been accepted. I have some reason to think that in military circles in Ireland there is a strong feeling that from a purely military point of view enlistment for home defence should be permitted; 20,000 men of Kitchener's army, who are supposed to be drilling and training for the front, are being wasted; by being engaged in defending various points on the coast, railways, bridges, and waterworks. The whole of these men could be set free, if Irishmen were allowed to take their places.

I have told you that Ireland has sent from Irish soil over 100,000 men to the colours. What about the Irish race in Great Britain and throughout the world? Some figures were recently published which showed that 115,000 recruits of Irish birth or descent had gone from Great Britain since the beginning of the war, and after making careful inquiries I am convinced that these figures err on the side of modesty. I have been told by responsible men in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, that an enormous proportion of the contingents sent by those countries to the army was made up of Irishmen. It is no exaggeration to say that at this moment the Irish race can number with the colours at least a quarter of a million sons.

There are some places in England where Irish recruits have been banded together in Irish brigades, and all that they do that is honourable and chivalrous will redound to the credit of Ireland. But I regret that the great bulk of the Irish recruits have been scattered among the English regiments, and to those Irishmen who are going to enlist I would like to make an appeal. There are in Ireland three divisions. One has been called the Ulster Division, and I am told it is very nearly full. Another, the 10th Division, is intended to be a purely Irish division, but some thousands of English recruits

have been drafted into it. The third, the 16th Division, we have come to call the Irish Brigade, not because we do not know the difference between a division and a brigade, but for reasons of history and affection. The term recalled the history of the old Irish Brigade, which for nearly a hundred years cast the light of its glory over all the battlefields of Europe. This Irish Brigade is not quite complete. It still requires about two thousand men, and I hope that every Irishman in England who enlists will choose one of the regiments in the 16th Division. I have heard some complaints of difficulties put in the way of Irish recruits who desired to enter Irish regiments. I have been told that recruiting officers have brought pressure to bear upon recruits to prevent them from going into Irish regiments, and I should like to get hold of an authentic case. When these rumours first came to me, I went to the War Office, and I was assured that a recruiting officer who did anything of that kind was guilty of a gross abuse of duty. Any man who went into a recruiting office to enlist was entitled to choose for himself what regiment he would enter, and whether that regiment was stationed in Fermoy or Tipperary the Government would send him free of charge.

I do not want to make comparisons, I believe every country is doing its duty in the best way it can. I make no claim for Ireland except that Ireland is doing its duty. Our record is one of which we can be proud. If we turn for a moment to the record of performances at the front, I think we Irishmen can hold up our heads. [Cheers.] Sir John French is an Irishman—[cheers]; he springs from good old Irish stock. Admiral Beatty is an Irishman—[cheers]—from the County Wexford. Admiral Carden, who is bombarding the Dardanelles, is an Irishman from Tipperary. [Loud cheers.] The lieutenant commander of the destroyer that sunk the U 12 the other day is a Creagh from county Clare. And if we leave the high in rank and go down to the rank and file—[cheers]—I think the name of Michael O'Leary—[cheers]—will be for ever associated with the history of this war. If you look at the performances at the front from another point of view, and look at the casualty lists and see how whole regiments of Irish troops have been almost wiped out, I do not think any man will be found in this country to deny that Ireland is doing her duty. [Cheers.] But, after all, we make no boast of it. It is nothing to be wondered at. It is all in keeping with the history and traditions of our race. [Cheers.] If Ireland

had held back in this war she would have belied her whole history. How the calculations of the Kaiser have been falsified ! He expected to meet a divided Empire. [Laughter.] It is easy to laugh. Ten years ago he might have done so. He expected revolt and disaffection in South Africa. He expected revolt and disaffection in Ireland, and in Egypt, and in India. But he forgot the march of events and the march of ideas in this country. He forgot the march of education and enlightenment in this country. He forgot that the rule of the people has been substituted for the rule of the ascendancy classes. And he forgot that the rule of the English democracy has united this Empire upon a firm and sure foundation of liberty. Principles of freedom have turned South Africa into a loyal, because self-governing, country. The principle of freedom has made Canada and Australia and New Zealand loyal, because they are self-governing. The same thing has happened in Ireland. [Cheers.]

We Irishmen feel that to-day, at last, we have entered on terms of equality into the Empire, and we say we will defend that Empire with loyalty and devotion. [Cheers.] For the first time in the history of the British Empire, we can feel in our very souls that in fighting for the Empire we are fighting for Ireland. [Cheers.] My own belief is that every Irish soldier who gives his life on the battlefields of Flanders dies for Ireland, for her liberty and her prosperity, as truly as did any of the heroes and martyrs of our race in the past. [Cheers.] It was a blessed day when the democracy of Britain trusted Ireland. That trust has done what force could never do. That trust has done what centuries of coercion failed to accomplish. It has bound two nations together in a unity of common interests and common rights and common liberties, and it has given to us for a watchword for the future the old classic motto, *Imperium et libertas*—Empire and liberty. [Cheers.]

RT. HON. H. H. ASQUITH

[Speech at a great recruiting meeting held in Usher Hall, Edinburgh, on Friday, September 18, 1914.]

MY LORD PROVOST, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :—A fortnight ago to-day in the Guildhall of the City of London I endeavoured to present to the nation and to the world the reasons which have compelled us, the people of all others which have the greatest interest in the maintenance of peace, to engage in the hazards and the horrors of war. I do not wish to repeat to-night in any detail what I then said. The war has arisen immediately and ostensibly, as every one knows, out of a dispute between Austria and Servia, in which we in this country had no direct concern.

The diplomatic history of those critical weeks, the last fortnight in July and the first few days of August, is now accessible to all the world. It has been supplemented during the last few days by the admirable and exhaustive dispatch of our late Ambassador at Vienna, Sir Maurice de Bunsen, a dispatch which, I trust, everybody will read ; and no one who reads it can doubt that largely through the efforts of my right honourable friend and colleague, Sir Edward Grey—[loud cheers]—the conditions of a peaceful settlement of the actual controversy were already within sight, when, on July 31, Germany, by her own deliberate act, made war a certainty. The facts are incontrovertible.

They are not sought to be controverted, except, indeed, by the invention and circulation of such wanton falsehoods as that France was contemplating, and even commencing, a violation of Belgian territory as the first step on her road to Germany. The result is, my Lord Provost, we are at war, and we are at war, as I have already shown elsewhere, and as I repeat here to-night—we are at war for three reasons.

In the first place, to vindicate the sanctity of treaty obligations—[cheers]—and of what is properly called the public law of Europe—[cheers]—in the second place to assert and to

enforce the independence of free States, relatively small and weak, against the encroachments and the violence of the strong—[cheers]—and in the third place, to withstand what we believe, in the best interests not only of our own Empire, but of civilization at large, the arrogant claim of a single Power to dominate the development and the destinies of Europe. [Cheers.]

My Lord Provost, since I last spoke, some faint attempts have been made in Germany to dispute the accuracy and the sincerity of this statement of our attitude and aims. It has been suggested, for instance, that our professed zeal for treaty rights and for the interests of small States is a new-born and a simulated passion. What, we are asked, has Britain cared in the past for treaties or for the smaller nationalities except when she had some ulterior and selfish purpose of her own to serve? I am quite ready to meet that challenge—[hear, hear, and cheers]—and to meet it in the only way in which it can be met—by reference to history.

And, out of many illustrations which I might take, I will content myself here to-night with two, widely removed in point of time, but both, as it happens, very apposite to the present case. I will go back first to the war carried on at first against the revolutionary Government of France, and then against Napoleon, which broke out in 1793, and which lasted for more than twenty years. We had then at the head of the Government of this country one of the most peace-loving Ministers who has ever presided over our fortunes, Mr. Pitt. [Cheers.] For three years, from 1789 to 1792, he resolutely refused to interfere in any way with the revolutionary proceedings in France, or with the wars that sprang out of them, and as lately, I think, as February in 1792, in a memorable speech in the House of Commons, which shows amongst other things the shortness of human foresight, he declared that there never was a time when we in this country could more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace. And what was it, gentlemen, within a few months of the declaration, led this pacific Minister to war? It was the invasion of the treaty rights guaranteed by ourselves to a small European State—that is the States General of Holland. [Cheers.] For nearly 200 years the Great Powers of Europe had guaranteed to Holland the exclusive navigation of the River Scheldt. The French Revolutionary Government invaded what is now Belgium, and as a first act of hostility to Holland declared the navigation of

the Scheldt to be open. Our interest in that matter then, as now, was relatively small and insignificant. But what was Mr. Pitt's reply? I quote you the exact words he used in the House of Commons—they are so applicable to the circumstances of the present moment. This is in 1793. "England will never consent that another country shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure the political system of Europe established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of the Powers." [Cheers.] He went on to say, "that this House (the House of Commons), in substantial good faith to its engagements, if it retains a just sense of the solemn faith of treaties, it must show a determination to support them." [Cheers.]

Yes; and it was in consequence of that stubborn and unyielding determination to maintain treaties, to defend small States, to resist the aggressive domination of a single Power, that we were involved in a war which we had done everything to avoid, which was carried on upon a scale both as to area and as to duration up till then unexampled in the history of mankind. That is one precedent. But let me give you one more. I come down to 1870, when this very Treaty, to which we are parties no less than Germany, and which guarantees the neutrality and independence of Belgium, was threatened. Mr. Gladstone was then Prime Minister of this country—[cheers]—if possible a stronger and a more ardent advocate of peace even than Mr. Pitt himself—Mr. Gladstone, pacific as he was, felt so strongly the sanctity of our obligations that, though here again, we had no direct interest of any kind at stake, he made agreements with France and with Prussia to co-operate with either of the belligerents if the other violated Belgian territory. And I should like, gentlemen, to read a passage from a speech ten years later, delivered in 1880, by Mr. Gladstone himself in this city of Edinburgh—[cheers]—in which he reviewed that transaction, and explained his reasons for it. After narrating the facts which I have summarized, he said this: "If we had gone to war (which he was prepared to do), we should have gone to war for freedom; we should have gone to war for public right; we should have gone to war to save human happiness from being invaded by a tyrannous and lawless Power. That," Mr. Gladstone said, "that is what I call a good cause, gentlemen, and though I detest war, and there are no epithets too strong, if you could supply me with them, I will not endeavour to heap upon its head, in

such a war as that while the breath in my body is continued to me I am ready to engage." [Loud cheers.]

So much as to our own action in the past in regard to treaties and small States. But, my Lord Provost, faint as is the denial of this part of our case, it becomes fainter still ; it dissolves into the thinnest of thin air when it has to deal with our contention that we and our Allies are withstanding a Power whose aim is nothing less than the domination of Europe. It is, indeed, the avowed belief of the leaders of German thought—I will not say of the German people—of those who, for many years past, have controlled German policy, that such a domination, carrying with it the supremacy of what they call German culture—[laughter]—and the German spirit was the best thing that could happen to the world.

Let me, then, ask for a moment what is this German culture—what is this German spirit of which the Emperor's Armies are at present the missionaries in Belgium and France ? [Laughter.] Mankind owes much to Germany—a very great debt—for the contributions she has made to philosophy, to science, and to the arts ; but, gentlemen, that which is specifically German in the movement of the world in the last thirty years has been, on the intellectual side, the development of the doctrine of the supreme and ultimate prerogative in human affairs of material force, and on the practical side the taking of the foremost place in the fabrication and the multiplication of the machinery of destruction. To the men who have adopted this gospel—who believe as Treitschke and his school do, that power is the be-all and the end-all of the State—naturally a treaty is nothing more than a piece of parchment, and all the old-world talk about the rights of the weak and the obligation of the strong is only so much threadbare and nauseating cant. For one very remarkable feature about this new school of doctrine is, whatever be its intellectual or its ethical merits, that it has turned out as an actual guide to life to be a very purblind philosophy.

German culture and German spirit did not save the Emperor and his people from delusions and miscalculations—as dangerous as they were absurd—in regard to the British Empire. [Cheers.] We were believed by those cultivated observers—[laughter]—to be the decadent descendants of a people who, by a combination of luck and of fraud, had managed to obtain dominion over a vast quantity of the surface and the populations of the globe. This fortuitous aggregation—[laughter]—

which goes by the name of the British Empire—[laughter]—was supposed to be so insecurely founded, and so loosely knit together, that at the first touch of serious menace from without it would fall to pieces and tumble to the ground. [Laughter.] Our great Dominions were getting heartily tired of the Imperial connection. India—[loud cheers]—it was notorious to every German traveller—[laughter]—was on the verge of open revolt, and here at home we, the people of this United Kingdom, were riven by dissensions so deep and so fierce that our energies, whether for resistance or for attack, would be completely paralysed. Gentlemen, what a fantastic dream! [Laughter and cheers.] And what a rude awakening! [Renewed cheers.] And in this vast and grotesque and yet tragic miscalculation is to be found one of the roots—perhaps the main root—of the present war.

But let us go one step more. It has been said “by their fruits ye shall know them”—[cheers]—and history will record that when the die was cast and the struggle began it was the disciples of this same creed who revived methods of warfare which have for centuries past been condemned by the common-sense as well as by the humanity of the great masses of the civilized world. [Cheers.] Louvain, Malines, Termonde—these are names which will henceforward be branded on the brow of German culture. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] The ruthless sacking of ancient and famous towns of Belgium is fitly supplemented by the story which reaches us only to-day from our own head quarters in France of the Proclamation issued less than a week ago by the German authorities, who were for a moment unhappily, for little more than a moment, in occupation of the venerable city of Reims. Gentlemen, it ought to be put on record. Let me read a very short, the concluding, paragraph of that Proclamation :

“With a view to securing adequately the safety of the troops and to instil calm into the population of Reims, the persons named below (eighty-one in number and including all the leading citizens of the town) have been seized as hostages by the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army. These hostages will be hanged at the slightest attempt at disorder. Also, the town will be totally or partly burnt, and the inhabitants will be hanged for any infraction of the above.

“By order of the German authorities.”

[Hisses.]

My Lord Provost, do not let it be forgotten that it is from a Power whose intellectual leaders are imbued with the ideas which I have described, and whose generals in the field sanction, and even direct, these practices—it is from that Power that the claim proceeds to impose its culture, its spirit, which means its domination, upon the rest of Europe. [Cheers.] That claim, I say to you and to my fellow-countrymen and to every citizen and subject of the British Empire, whose ears or eyes my words can reach—that is a claim everything that is great in our past and everything that promises hope or progress in our future summons us to resist to the end. [Loud and continued cheers.]

The task, my Lord Provost—do not let us deceive ourselves—the task will not be a light one. Its full accomplishment, and nothing short of full accomplishment—[prolonged cheers]—is worthy of our traditions, or will satisfy our resolve. It will certainly take months, it may even take years. I have come here to-night, not to ask you to count the cost, for no price can be too high to pay when honour and freedom are at stake—[cheers]—but to put before you the magnitude of the issue and the supreme necessity that lies upon us as a nation, nay, as a brotherhood and family of nations, to rise to its height, and acquit ourselves of our duty. The war has now lasted more than six weeks. Our supremacy at sea—[cheers]—has not been seriously questioned. [Cheers.]

Full supplies of food and of raw materials are making their way to our shores from every quarter of the globe. [Cheers.] Our industries, with one or two exceptions, maintain their activity. Unemployment is so far not seriously in excess of the average. The monetary situation improves, and every effort that the zeal and skill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—[cheers]—with the co-operation and expert advice that the bankers, and the business men of the country can devise, every effort is being made to achieve what is most essential—the complete reestablishment of the foreign exchanges. Meanwhile, the merchant shipping of the enemy has been hunted from the seas—[cheers]—and our seamen are still patiently—or impatiently—[laughter and cheers]—awaiting a chance of conclusions with the opposing fleet. Great and incalculable is the debt which we have owed during these weeks, and which in increasing measure we shall continue to owe, to our Navy. [Cheers.] The Navy needs no help. As the months roll on—thanks to a far-sighted policy in the past—its proportionate

strength will grow. [Cheers.] If we turn to our Army—[cheers]—we can say with equal justice and pride that during these weeks it has rivalled the most glorious records of its past. [Cheers.] Sir John French—[cheers]—and his gallant officers and men live in our hearts, as they will live in the memories of those who come after us. [Cheers.]

But splendid achievements—[cheers]—such as these—equally splendid in retirement and in advance—[cheers]—cannot be won without a heavy expenditure of life and limb and of equipment and supply. Even now at this early stage I suppose there is hardly a person here who is not suffering from anxiety and suspense. Some of us are plunged in sorrow for the loss of those we love, cut off, some of them, in the spring-time of their young lives. We will not mourn for them over much. "One crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name." [Cheers.] But these gaps have to be filled. The wastage of modern war is relentless and almost inconceivable.

We have—I mean His Majesty's Government have—since the war began, dispatched to the front already considerably over 200,000 men—[cheers]—and the amplest provision has been made for keeping them supplied with all that is necessary in food, in stores, and in equipment. They will very soon be reinforced by Regular troops from India—[cheers]—from Egypt, and the Mediterranean, and in due time by the contingents, which our Dominions are furnishing with such magnificent patriotism and loyalty—[cheers]—and our own gallant Territorials, becoming every day a fitter and a finer force, and eager and anxious to respond to any call, either at home or abroad, that may be made upon them. [Cheers.] But, gentlemen, this is not enough. We must do still more. Already in little more than a month we have half a million recruits for the four new armies which as Lord Kitchener—[cheers]—told the country he means to have ready to bring into the field.

Enlisting as we were last week in a single day as many men as we have been accustomed to enlist in the course of a whole year, it is not, I think, surprising that the machinery has been over-strained, and that there have been many cases of temporary inconvenience and hardship and discomfort. With time and patience and good organization these things will be set right, and the new scale of allowances—[cheers]—which was announced in Parliament yesterday, will do much to mitigate the lot of the wives and children and dependents who are

left behind. [Cheers.] We want more men, and, perhaps most of all, the help for training them of every one in the whole of this kingdom who has in days gone by, as officer or as non-commissioned officer, served his country. He never had a greater or more fruitful opportunity of service than is presented to him to-day.

We appeal to the manhood of all the three kingdoms, and to such an appeal I know well, as now your senior representative in the House of Commons, that Scotland will not turn a deaf ear. [Cheers.] Scotland is doing well, and indeed more than well—and no part of Scotland, I believe, better in proportion than Edinburgh—and I cannot say with what pleasure I heard the figures given by the Lord Provost and those which have been supplied to me by the gallant General who has the Scottish Command—[loud cheers]—which show us, indeed, as was to be expected, that Scotland is more than holding her own. Let me add in that connection—let me repeat what I said two weeks ago in London—we think it of the highest importance that, as far as possible and subject to the exigencies of war, people belonging to the same place, breathing the same atmosphere, having the same associations should, as far as possible, be kept together for the purpose of war. [Cheers.] Now, my Lord Provost, I have only one more word to say. What is it that we can offer to our recruits? They come to us spontaneously under no kind of compulsion—of their own free will—[cheers]—to meet a national and an Imperial need.

We present to them no material inducement in the shape of bounty or bribe. They have to face the prospect of a spell of hard training, from which most of the comforts and all the luxuries that any of them have been accustomed to are rigorously banished. But then, when they are fully equipped for their patriotic task, they will have the opportunity of striking a blow—it may be, even, of laying down their lives—not to serve the cause of ambition or aggression, but to maintain the honour and the good faith of our country, to shield the independence of free States, to protest against brute force—[hear, hear]—the principles of civilization and the liberties of Europe.

RT. HON. T. McKINNON WOOD

[Speech at a great meeting held in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow,
on September 10, 1914.]

MY LORD PROVOST, MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN:—We are met together in a national crisis in which we are all of one mind. One heart beats in us all. One stern resolution animates every one of us. No differences of opinion or interests are strong enough to divide us now. As in a flash the whole nation has recognized the supreme duty of unity. [Applause.] The German Emperor, with whom lay the issues of peace and war—for no one believes that Austria could have forced his hand, and Italy was ignored—has blown the war trumpet, and Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Canadians, Australasians, South Africans, the princes and peoples of India—[applause] have leapt to arms to meet him. Not one portion of the Empire has failed, or held back, or hesitated. One voice has been heard from north and south, and east and west. [Applause.] “We stand together for British liberty. We will stand together to the end. We will stand together till the victory is won.” No talk of this not being “their” war. Britain has been attacked; her children flock to her defence. It is “our” war to every one of them. [Applause.] And our Dominions are proceeding in a very businesslike fashion to deal effectively with the German colonies, besides freely sending their generous gifts and their gallant sons to help us in Europe. We have not entered lightly into this struggle, nor hastily, nor foolishly undervaluing our enemy, but gravely, with deliberation, with reluctance, as men who have counted the cost. We knew the cost would be heavy; we knew our great enemy was strong, perfectly prepared, utterly ruthless, but we had none the less the fixed assurance of ultimate victory—an assurance not lessened but confirmed by the honour which both our Army and our Navy have already won by their gallant services. For we believe that neither the new siege guns of Herr Krupp,

nor Zeppelins dealing wanton and useless destruction, nor millions of armed men, nor long-matured organization, nor the brutality which seeks to strike terror into the defenceless, can overcome the unconquerable spirit of freedom. [Applause.] The militarism of Germany, at once cynical and ruthless, has roused a spirit in the world which will, I firmly believe, in the end destroy it. [Applause.]

This war, like that of 1870, came upon us with startling suddenness, like lightning from a blue sky. There was no war party in this country: no jingo spirit. The week before the war I spoke to men of all parties in Parliament: not one of them desired war. All hoped that the wonderful patience and the diplomatic genius of Sir Edward Grey—[applause]—would find a way to peace, as they had before in the three exceedingly grave European crises which occurred during the past eight years. We had been cultivating, and as it seemed to be successfully, more friendly relations with Germany. There was no point of quarrel between us, or between Germany and France, or Germany and Russia. Russia had given Servia pacific advice which had been followed. Surely means would be found to avert the hideous catastrophe to civilization of a conflict between the five greatest Powers of Europe. That was the temper of the British Parliament. The Government sought peace, and pursued it to the very end. They felt to the bottom of their hearts the awful responsibility that weighed upon them. They appreciated the ghastly cost of war to the nations. Even the threat of war had disorganized the finance of the world and shaken the basis of commerce. No means were left untried by us to avert the catastrophe. Had there been the least desire for peace on the part of Germany the war would have been averted without difficulty. In that fact lies one source of our strength now. With a clean conscience we appealed to the Empire, and nobly has the appeal been answered. With a clean conscience we appeared before the world. [Applause.]

The world now knows—despite deliberate and very unconvincing attempts to falsify the issue—that the war plot was deliberately hatched in Berlin and Vienna, and that the third member of the Triple Alliance was not even consulted. No Power was seeking anything from Germany or desiring to interfere with her interests. Who doubts what the sinister conspiracy really was? To reduce France to impotence and deprive her of her colonies—to make Belgium

and Holland provinces of the German Empire, and then to use their ports on the North Sea for the subjugation of Great Britain and the destruction of the free British Empire.

Belgium was the touchstone. A small nation, prosperous in the arts of peace, making no military pretensions, offering no shadow of offence, capable of no injury to Germany, whom Germany had plighted her word by treaty to protect—was her neutrality to be respected? We applied the touchstone to France and Germany very much as Mr. Gladstone did in 1870. France gave us an immediate and honourable answer. Germany refused. "Do not ask us for that pledge. Belgium is a necessary pawn in our great war game. You will not surely go to war with us," said the German Chancellor in a phrase which will live to the lasting humiliation of his country, "for a 'scrap of paper.'" What! were treaties, solemn obligations, rights of small nations to withstand the onward march of the military ambition of Germany? Their war plans were made—made long ago. Belgium was their easiest path, and Belgium must of course be sacrificed. They knew we loved peace and hated war—that our minds were set upon the higher work of social amelioration. They thought we were divided. They thought we would sacrifice everything—our glorious past and our great future—to avoid the contest, and they made the fatal blunder of misunderstanding the temper of the British people, which to-day is proving itself as ready, as determined as in any age of our history, to fight for that freedom and independence without which to us life itself were a debased and worthless thing. [Applause.] We are all determined to do our part, and we all have a part to play. New and sterner duties confront us. We are in a new world. It seems to me long years since the protracted and anxious deliberations of the Cabinet on Sunday, August 2, not six weeks ago.

The fact that five of the greatest Powers in Europe had declared war at once dislocated the machinery of civilization. The Government was faced by problems novel and unprecedented and of infinite complexity and difficulty. As they acknowledge with pride, they have been helped by the patriotic support and the personal assistance of leaders of all parties, and this meeting to-night and the men who stand on this platform together are an expression of the national unity. [Applause.] What are these problems? To re-establish the tottering system of finance, paralysed in every quarter of the

globe. To assist and encourage commerce, deprived of its usual support and choked in some of its most important channels. To provide for the insurance of our mercantile marine against the risks of war, magnified by the first shock of surprise. To secure our food supply, which has proved to be the least difficult of our tasks. To be ready to deal with unemployment and distress. To provide for the conduct of the war. To raise and equip new armies. In response to the united appeal of all its leaders the nation is doing its part nobly. [Applause.] Half a million of our young men have come forward with eager alacrity to serve abroad. Well over 1,000,000 men are already under the flag. There are many more to follow : we need have no fear of that. [Applause.] There are vast reserves of manhood and patriotism yet to be drawn upon.

They thought us decadent. They have met Sir John French's Army ; what do they think of us now ? [Applause.] I am very proud of the part taken by this great city of Glasgow. It is contributing to the relief of distress with its accustomed generosity. It has raised 25,000 volunteers for the new Army. The Corporation is showing its renowned public spirit in a new form, by providing and equipping two battalions at least at its own expense. Do not be afraid of doing too much. This is a time to "mak' siccar." We must take long views. This is a war of Titans. While hopeful and confident of the final result, we must recognize the strength and tenacity of our enemy, we must be prepared for a long fight, if necessary, and the stronger we are—the sooner our new forces are ready for the field while our young men continue by volunteering to provide fresh reinforcements, so that we can always maintain not only an unweakened but an augmented Army at the front and an adequate defence at home—the sooner will be the end and the more satisfactory the settlement. In this struggle we must put forth all our strength, and that without wasting time.

Others have different tasks and duties. Age and physical defect and sometimes duty to others will keep many at home. I speak in a great commercial community. Our men of business have important work to do—work vitally necessary to our success. Our business life has its side of honour and duty as well as any other profession. I think there has been a disposition in some quarters to lecture one another, and we have seen some hard criticisms which sprang from pure

ignorance. It would be wrong to ignore the fact that to many men of business war has brought already unmerited and heavy loss, and risks of loss which they cannot yet calculate—that many have during the past five weeks been looking ruin in the face, and that, if they failed to help, it was not for want of goodwill, but for want of power. But many are well able to give invaluable help to the State. The business of the country must be carried on—the people must be fed and clothed, work must be found for the workers. To be strong in the field we must be strong at home. Business men will have to work less for themselves and more for the State. I believe most of them will do their part in the right spirit. Many of them are making their sacrifices, and considering the interests of their employees dependent upon them, rather than their own profits, and especially are safeguarding the interests of those who are serving the country in the Army and the Navy. A manufacturer said to me the other day: “I have made a fortune in my works: I will now spend it, if necessary, to keep them going and my men in employment.” That is a fine spirit. [Applause.] One of our greatest sources of strength, our power of endurance tested in past wars, depends upon our financial resources, our commerce, safeguarded and secured by our insular position and our supreme Navy. These are the sources of endurance which will tell in the long run. I am sure we can stand the strain a great deal longer than Germany. Many of those present—bankers, shipowners, manufacturers, merchants—can do much to maintain the commerce of the country by carrying on their businesses in a large, liberal, unselfish spirit, looking at the general interest and helping others for the common good. They have been greatly helped by the State during these past weeks, and must reciprocate by helping the State. It will not be quite “business as usual.” We look for something more than that. There is a healthy and strong public opinion, which will utterly condemn and punish greed and attempts at monopoly or exaction; but I believe that goodwill and the sense of honour and a consciousness of the gravity of the issue will afford the higher and more effectual motive. While others are giving their lives we must not shrink from lesser sacrifices. Competition must give place to co-operation. [Applause.]

Our Navy is doing its work with its accustomed thoroughness, though the supreme moment for which it looks and longs has not come, and may possibly be long delayed. Our one

naval victory has proved that our officers and men have lost none of the old sea skill and dash. Unfortunately, it has not whetted the appetite of the German Fleet, in their safe seclusion, to try conclusions with us on the sea. [Laughter.] The German mercantile marine is either captured or lying useless in neutral ports. Our food supply continues uninterrupted. Our merchant ships and those of our allies are passing to and fro on the great trade routes with a minimum of risk. Only by sowing mines in the North Sea and by warring on fishing-boats has the enemy been able to do us damage. Our Army has proved its splendid quality against heavy odds, and carried out operations requiring the highest skill, courage, and endurance; and it is an Army that will not diminish but increase as the war goes on. New forces from Great Britain, our Dominions, and India steadily continue to pour in with fresh power and vigour. Time is on our side, and I see every ground for courage and for hope. The country has read the dispatch from Sir John French this morning, and the later news from France of the driving back of the Germans, and the grateful message of the French Commander-in-Chief to the British Army with just feelings of deep pride. [Applause.] We appreciate the awful strain of the battle, which lasted almost without interruption for eighteen days, often against odds of two and even three to one and the exhibition of valour, military skill, and stern endurance not surpassed in the annals of British arms. [Applause.] Our recruits are called to join an Army whose regiments—English, Irish, and Scottish—have added lustre even to the glorious records of their past, and our young men in hundreds of thousands are now showing how they appreciate the honour. [Applause.] One service to the State we who remain at home can all perform, nor is it an unimportant service. We can resist and discourage panic, keep cool heads, neither over-elated by success, nor over-depressed by reverse. We can exhibit the phlegm and doggedness which are regarded as our national characteristics by our friends across the Channel. When reverses come we must just set our teeth harder and fight on with grimmer determination; when successes come we shall still fight on to ultimate triumph. [Applause.]

I saw several French papers at the time of our fateful decision, and I was deeply stirred by the chief reason which they gave for welcoming our alliance. It was not even chiefly because our paramount Navy would be, as it has proved to

be, a tremendously powerful safeguard protecting the French coasts and commerce as well as our own, though of course they recognized that. It was not chiefly because we could assist them with a highly efficient Army. It was most of all because they said that Great Britain having once begun the contest, would never discontinue it till its object was achieved, would never look back till victory was won. That was why above all they valued our assistance. It was a supreme compliment. They will not be disappointed. We have counted every item of the cost. Not lightly have we engaged in this world battle, which not only involves forces which surpass in magnitude those of any warfare in the history of the world, but also places in jeopardy the interests and the very existence of mighty empires. And we shall not sheathe our sword until we have laid the grim and remorseless monster of German militarism, which has dominated Europe and threatened the world for over forty years, till the cause of freedom and an enduring peace is established. We have combined against the bully of Europe, against the Power which has made military force its god, and in its name has scoffed at solemn national obligations, violated the practice of civilized war, and sought to overawe her victims by methods of outrage which spare neither women nor children, nor defenceless men, nor priceless libraries and treasures of art, which are the common heritage of mankind, and once destroyed can never be replaced. Gallant Belgium, violated in no quarrel of her own—whose unsparing sacrifices and undaunted endurance recall the ancient heroism of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century—must be revenged and recompensed in the name of freedom and civilization. [Applause.] This is, as the Prime Minister said on Friday in the noble speech which is now echoing through the world, “not merely a material but a spiritual conflict.” We are fighting for the highest national ideal, for all that makes life worthy to freemen—for our honour, our future peace, for the liberty which no power on earth will ever force us to surrender. [Applause.]

RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

[Speech at a great public meeting held in the Tournament Hall,
Liverpool, on September 21, 1914.]

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN :—It is well that the force and spirit of all classes and interests in the British Empire are all flowing together into one great channel, and moves forward to the realization of the whole strength of the British people. The times in which we live are terrible ; the course of events has passed outside the boundaries of the most daring imagination. The actual facts are so stunning, the scale of all the phenomena presented to our view so vast, that we can only feel, each one of us, that we must just lay hold of the next obvious simple step which duty indicates. [Cheers.] How we shall reach the end we cannot see now. But the immediate step before us we can see quite plainly. [Cheers.]

I have not come here to ask you for your cheers : I have come to ask you for a million men for the gallant Army of Sir John French—a million of the flower of our manhood, nothing but the best, every man a volunteer—[cheers]—a million men maintained in the field and equipped with everything that science can invent or money can buy, maintained and supported by the resources which, while we maintain command of the seas, we can draw from every quarter of the globe and feed up steadily to their full strength until this war is settled in the only way. [Loud cheers.] I come to ask you for this with great confidence, because it can quite easily be done as long as we continue all of the same mind. [Cheers.]

My friendship with Mr. F. E. Smith is one of the most cherished possessions of my life, and I am glad to be on this platform with him. In a few days he is off to the war—[great cheering]—and I join with you in wishing that he may come back when matters have been satisfactorily adjusted. [Cheers.] I have only one song to sing. These are days of action rather than of speech. You have no need to be anxious about the

results. God has blessed our arms with unexpected good fortune. For myself, having studied this matter with some attention, I could not have hoped that at this stage of the war circumstances would have been so favourable to the Allied cause. [Cheers.] We must look to the solid foundations, to our real sources of strength, and even if the battle now proceeding were to prove as disastrous as it appears likely to prove triumphant, and even if other battles were to come, evil in fortune and sinister in consequences, still the British Empire, if its resolution does not fail, can finally settle the matter as it chooses. [Cheers.]

So far as the Navy is concerned, we cannot fight while the enemy remains in port. We hope a decision at sea will be a feature of this war. Our men, who are spending a tireless vigil, hope they will have a chance to settle the question with the German Fleet, and if they do not come out and fight they will be dug out like rats in a hole. [Cheers.] Under the shield of our Navy you can raise an army in this country which will settle the war within six or seven months. We can without difficulty, without boasting, without indulging in speculation, undoubtedly put into the field 25 Army Corps, comprising a million men, who, for their personal quality, understanding of the quarrel, spontaneous and voluntary energy, and initiative will not find their counterpart in the Armies of Europe. [Cheers.] There is no reserve of manhood, there is no reserve of vital energy, on the side of our enemies which can prevent that million of men from turning the scale in our favour. [Cheers.] In my opinion, it is only a question of time and Britain holding firm. It is only a question of how much blood is to be shed, and the more men we can send the less the slaughter will be. [Cheers.] As to the causes of the war, you have but to cast your minds back to 1860, from which time can be traced successive acts of violence on the part of Germany. There have been three recent occasions on which Europe has been on the verge of war, but it was averted by the patience and self-restraint of France. The late Lord Salisbury was forced to the conclusion that it was impossible to maintain a foreign policy based upon association with Germany. Germany began the building of a great navy for our undoing. Every detail of the German scheme proved that it was meant for us—for our exclusive benefit. [Laughter.] You recollect the Agadir crisis. The war would have happened then if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not gone to the Mansion House and made

a speech, but they thought they would wait a little longer.

I became responsible for this great department of the Navy, and I have had to see every day evidence of the espionage system which Germany maintained in this country. I have had the evidence put under my eye, month after month, of the agents whom they have maintained year after year here in great numbers. These men have exported all the details of our naval organization that they could get by bribery and subornation. That, they might say, was a protective measure, because we have the stronger fleet. Every dirty little German lieutenant—[laughter]—coming on leave to England has thought he would curry favour with his superior by writing home details of where water can be got, where there is a blacksmith's forge, how much provisions there may be for a battalion or a brigade in this village or that township of our peaceful island. We have been subjects of a careful and deliberate and scientific military reconnaissance. Well, they know all about us—[laughter and cheers]—if they like to come they know the way. [Prolonged cheering.] I was sure from her plans and railway arrangements that Germany would violate the neutrality of Belgium, but Belgium's sufferings will not go unredeemed. The might of England will be exerted patiently until full reparation has been obtained. [Cheers.]

I rejoice we are all together, and that we have the whole Irish people with us. Party politics are put on one side, but when, after the war is over, we go to the cupboard to take them out again things will never be quite the same. [Cheers.] The Orangemen of Belfast have given their rifles to the Belgians, and there is no one in Britain—Liberal or Nationalist—who would allow them to be any the worse off for that.

The German Ambassador in the United States has been indulging in some vague talk of peace, but peace ought not to be on the lips of those who are invading the territory of their neighbours and who are carrying fire and sword through peaceful provinces. While that spectacle continues, and while the smoke of their abominable cruelty is going up to Heaven, it is no time for talk of peace on the lips of the German Ambassador to the United States. Peace! ah, we are only just beginning. [Great cheering.] Peace with the German people may be arranged in good time, but peace with Prussian militarism?—no peace short of the grave with that vile tyranny.

[Renewed cheers.] Peace will be found, in the words of his Majesty the King, when the worthy causes for which we are fighting have been fully achieved. We may live to see the Christian States of the Balkans restored to their proper racial limits ; we may see Italy's territory correspond with her Italian population ; we may see France restored to her proper station in Europe and in her rightful place ; and we may see that Old England had something to do with it all. If these results be achieved, the million men will not have been demanded or supplied in vain. [Cheers.]

RT. HON. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

[Speech delivered in the Birmingham Town Hall, April 16, 1915, on his election to the Presidency of the Liberal Unionist Association in succession to his father, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain.]

MY LORD, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN :—I accept gratefully the honour and the responsibility which you have entrusted to me. I have been reminded by those who have moved the resolution which you have just so kindly passed, if I needed a reminder, how intimately my father was associated with this city, how great the services which he rendered to this city, to his country, and the empire—[hear, hear]—how long and how able his conduct of the affairs of this association. [Applause.] I cannot hope to serve you with equal ability, but I accept the position in which you have placed me as a trust, and I will at least try to serve you with equal fidelity. [Applause.]

Now, if these were ordinary times there are many subjects which would in the usual course attract our attention. We are passing through great changes. We cannot foresee exactly how we shall emerge from the great crisis in which we are involved. Big things and little things will change, and it may be that the future of our association may be different from its past. It may be that when the war is over, and when our thoughts turn again to domestic controversy, we may find that we can better serve the great causes which we exist to promote by some closer union of all the Unionist forces in our city than we have hitherto established among us. But these are thoughts for another time. We cannot deal with that to-night.

Nothing is usual now—neither business nor play, nor, least of all, politics. At the very beginning of the crisis which preluded this colossal struggle of great nations, we on our side declared a truce on all subjects of party controversy and from that day to this we have maintained the truce—in letter and in spirit, in spite, yes, even in spite of the grievous, the incredible provocation that was offered to us—[applause]—in the passage

after war began and when the whole energies of the country should have been centred on that struggle—the passage after that time of two great and profoundly controversial measures. Now we have passed through eight months of war, and he would be a bold man who would lead you to hope that the struggle will be over within another eight months. The outbreak of the war found our Government and our country unprepared for the great struggle into which they were suddenly thrown, and, even now, we may ask ourselves, each one of us, whether we realize all that is at stake, and how much it is incumbent upon each of us to do his share, be it big or little, in whatever way he can, to serve the nation which gave him birth, which finds a home for him and all that he holds dear. Every now and then some speaker or some writer draws attention to the fact—and it is a fact—that we have done more than we ever professed to be able to do. But that is not the question now.

We are in a struggle which for us, not less than for Belgium, not less than for France, not less than for any other Power engaged, is a struggle of life or death—and unless we carry it to a victorious conclusion, not merely would all our sacrifices have been in vain, not merely would the gallant and precious lives that have been lost have been sacrificed in vain; we ourselves should fall from our great estate; Great Britain would cease to count as a great nation in the counsels of the world. The question that we have to ask ourselves is not merely whether we have done as much as we professed to be able to do, it is whether there is anything more that we could do that is still undone. This is no time for a nice measurement of less or more, for an exact examination of the obligations we may have incurred, or of the means we have to meet them. It is a moment when if we leave anything undone which we might do to strengthen the cause of the Allies and to add to the power of our country, we have failed in our duty to our fathers who begat us, to our children who come after us, and for whom we are trustees, and we have failed in our duty to ourselves and in the execution of the responsibilities which are incumbent upon us. As long as this war lasts, nothing, I say, can be as usual. Everything must give way to military necessity—and from the highest to the lowest, in every rank and walk of life, we must submit ourselves to whatever restrictions, to whatever exertions are called for by the needs of our country and our Allies. [Applause.]

I do not think the Government can complain that they have not had the fullest support from their country. We have been engaged in many struggles in our long history. Never has a Government been so free from criticism ; never has a Government had reposed in it such absolute confidence ; never has any British Government enjoyed such free and unrestricted power. No request that they have made to the House of Commons or to Parliament has been refused—and I cannot conceive any request that they might make for the successful prosecution of this war which would not be granted to them, if it complied, as I doubt not it would comply, with the ordinary canons of fairness and of justice.

They are, in fact, autocrats, and the House of Commons exists but to aid and to support them. Criticism is almost silent, and criticism of a kind that might damage their authority, or that might lessen their power, has been absolutely unheard of in the House of Commons from the opening of the crisis down to the present day. But if we are content—all parties in the House of Commons, and the Opposition most of all—to forego all the ordinary rights of an ordinary Opposition, if we seek to take no advantage of the mistakes which this Government makes, if we are content to accept, as our leaders have to accept—and I speak with some knowledge—sneers from our own friends for not being sufficiently active and not exercising a sufficient criticism of the deeds, or the want of deeds, of the Government—if we are to adopt an attitude of this kind and surrender our right of criticism, and seek only to help and to aid the Government, then great is the responsibility of the Ministers to use the autocratic power placed in their hands to the uttermost, in order to secure a successful prosecution of the struggle in which we are engaged. [Hear, hear.] Yes, and something more. If we are ready to show such confidence in them, they owe some confidence to us ; if we are ready to submit to restrictions on our customary and traditional freedom, such as a few short months ago would have been unthought of by any British audience, then at least, where military necessity does not impose secrecy, they should take us into their confidence. I cannot speak to my countrymen at this time without appealing through them to the Government for a little more light on what is passing. I read to-day in the daily press that some event of which we have heard nothing has happened in connection with the operations in the Dardanelles, which has been fully described in the Italian papers. The

censorship refuses to allow that which is known to all the world outside the United Kingdom, to be published here. News may be good or bad, but no Government understands our people which thinks that they will do good work by keeping back bad news. We have gone through bad times before, and the worse the times were the higher the spirit of the people rose. The greater the necessity you show them for the exercise of patience the greater the exertion they will make.

I plead that, where no military necessity exists, bad news should not be withheld, and I plead, too, that we may have greater and fuller knowledge of the gallant and historic deeds of the regiments with which our city and the surrounding counties are associated. [Hear, hear.] What about the Warwicks? What about the Worcesters, of whom, in the simple and restrained language which is so characteristic of a great general, Sir John French says that if he is to single out one regiment in the fighting at Ypres it is the Worcesters he would name? I do plead that some person should record these events, so that our history, national and local, may be the richer for them, that the children may be stimulated to do their duty by the knowledge of the way in which our soldiers are doing theirs to-day.

I would not say these things for idle criticism, I would not say them to satisfy an idle curiosity, but I am profoundly convinced that secrecy has been, and is being, carried to an extent that is detrimental to the best interests of our nation. No one wants to give away secrets to the enemy, but if you tell the world at large only of the few men who shirk, or the few men who drink, if you conceal from them carefully what the great mass of the people are doing, if you hide from them the glorious actions which have illustrated the annals of the British Army and have added to its imperishable laurels, you not merely fail to impress your Allies with the efforts you are making to bring the whole force to bear upon this struggle, you not only give rise to surprise and sorrowful criticism among friendly nations abroad, but you discourage our own people, suppress their energy, damp their enthusiasm, and fail to get the best that they can give. [Hear, hear.] Any Government which tries to ride this country in blinkers will never get the best out of its mount.

I say, and I say with knowledge of what has been done, that, considering the little any man has said to prepare you for this struggle, considering how little has been told you ever since

the struggle began, the wonder is not that our country and the Empire have not done more—the amazing thing is that they have acted with such unanimity and have already done so much. I said just now how little had been said to prepare you for this war. Why are we fighting, and what are we fighting about? We all know that on our part this is no war of aggression. I read in the papers that General Bernhardt, whose works are probably familiar to you now, is now bleating like a lamb and complaining that he and his country have been grossly misunderstood, and that never was a struggle, a great war, more unwelcome to any one than to them. It is worth while to remember that it is not the first time Germany has provoked a quarrel and sought to put the onus of the quarrel on other shoulders. It is not the first time she has tried to do it, but only the first time she has been unsuccessful. I read again this morning the pages of Bismarck's reminiscences in which he describes how he provoked France to war in 1870 by altering the whole tone and temper of a telegram from the Emperor, or King William of Prussia as he then was, how he deliberately provoked France into declaring war whilst giving her the appearance of being the wanton aggressor. We might attach more importance to these German protestations if history did not judge them out of the mouths of their own statesmen. We know this is a defensive war on our part, but do we know and realize all that is at stake? Almost up to the outbreak of war every utterance we had from responsible men in England was reassuring. It is not long ago that a Minister of the Crown told us that it was almost incredible that British troops should ever take part in a Continental war. And yet, surely, there were storm signals enough; there were warnings that those in authority could not have misunderstood. Was it right not to take the people at all into their confidence?

More than a year ago, at our Birmingham jewellers' dinner, I said that in my opinion the secrecy which enwrapped our foreign policy was carried too far, and in these days of democratic power and democratic control more confidence was needed between the governed and the governors. Think of the years that passed, think of the strain, again and again repeated, because at one moment Austria, and more often Germany rattled the sabre, and stood forth in their shining armour, to threaten and to bluff, and to bring the peace of Europe almost to breaking point. I think it would have been better if men in the Government—yes, and men outside

the Government, myself included—had done a little more to awaken our people to the danger that was threatening, and to prepare them for the responsibilities which they have now to discharge. But although I knew enough to disquiet me, and enough to make me blame myself now for the measure of silence that I preserved, I did not know of everything. [A Voice: "Lord Roberts."] Yes, all honour to Lord Roberts. I did not know, as the Prime Minister revealed to us at Cardiff last autumn, that the Government had actually offered to the Government of Germany an assurance that nothing in any agreement we had signed pledged us to hostile action against them, and at the same time offered to enter into an agreement that we would never join in an aggressive war against them, and that the German Government rejected that offer as worthless because we would not promise to stand aside whatever quarrel they chose to pick with whatever nation.

They asked us—bear these words in mind—they asked us, said the Prime Minister, to put it quite plainly—for a free hand so far as we were concerned, if they selected the opportunity "to overbear and to dominate the European world." And yet, not very long ago, I saw another distinguished Minister offer an explanation of the war which, for a gentleman who prides himself on clear thinking, I can only describe as puerile. He said that he once had—I think it was—a collie dog, a most charming and delightful animal; but one day it worried twelve sheep. In fact, it had gone mad, and that was what happened to Germany. That is not clear thinking; it is not philosophy; it is not statesmanship; it is pure nonsense, and mischievous nonsense at that. [Applause.]

This struggle is not the affair of a moment; this war is not the outcome of a sudden fit of passion. It was prepared and premeditated, but all the consequences of it were not rightly calculated—the moral forces provoked by the disregard of solemn obligations, of treaty pledges, of the obligations of international law, of relations that ought to prevail between neighbouring states, and the moral indignation and moral effect of such disregard.

But the war was not the accident of a moment. It was a thing planned, prepared for, taught to the German people as inevitable, and to which the whole organizing powers of the German Government had been devoted for a generation. No man can understand the task we have before us; no man can judge the efforts that we may be called upon to make, who

does not realize that, as a result of the teaching of—I said a generation, but of two generations—Germany stands united behind this policy as one man ; and that for us to build on hopes of disunion, on thoughts that they may break up amongst themselves, is to cozen ourselves with false hopes.

We must win by our own right arm, and none other. [Cheers.] And let us understand for what we are fighting. The actual declaration of war was delivered because, in defiance of her pledged word, Germany broke the neutrality of Belgium, and invaded Belgian territory. We were guarantors with Germany of Belgian neutrality, and, as a nation of honour, we could do none other than make good the word we had pledged. [Applause.] That was the immediate occasion of war, and if it had been none other it would have been a sufficient cause of war, and would have justified the war to all our people here and across the seas. But we should little understand how much is at stake for us, if we thought we were merely embarked in a chivalrous crusade on behalf of another nation, without our interests being engaged. I saw the other day that a Minister had given an interview in which—I think it must have been by accident—he had used language which might lead any one to suppose that if the Germans had invaded France by another route than by the neutral territory of Luxemburg and Belgium they might have done so freely for all we should have cared. That is not so. [Cheers.] And in these days careless use of language of that kind is very mischievous. We are fighting because our word was pledged, but if our word had not been pledged to Belgium we should still be fighting—for our lives. Read our history ; judge it as you will ; with all its mistakes and all its glories there are two things that as long as we count in the world, we shall never submit to without a struggle. We shall never see the independence of the Low Countries threatened or invaded with indifference, or with inaction on our part. But neither shall we see an effort on the part of one Power, in Mr. Asquith's words, " to overbear and to dominate the European world." For those causes we fought against Philip of Spain ; we fought against Louis XIV ; and we fought against Napoleon ; and when those causes are at stake we shall fight again as long as we have any life as a nation and any power as an Empire. [Applause.]

Putting Belgium altogether on one side, what would have happened if we had stood aloof in selfish isolation, and to think in that way we should have been safe ? We should have reaped

no honour ; we should have covered our faces with shame and disgrace ; and whoever was conqueror in this struggle, we should have been beaten, for we should not have had a friend left in Europe or an admirer in the world. We went to war for the honour of our signature on a scrap of paper as regards the independence of Belgium. There was no scrap of paper between us and France. But two nations would not have the close relationship that had existed between them and us, the close communication of naval and military ideas, the distribution for a common plan of naval forces, such as we have had with them since the entente developed, and then at a critical moment when all is at stake, one of those two nations should say : " All that means nothing ; and we are unpledged and unconcerned." No Government holding office in this country which had sought so to betray our friendships and so to humiliate us, would have remained in power for a week. [Cheers.]

So I say that it is not for Belgium only we are fighting. It is not merely a crusade for right and for law against wrong and brute force—though it is all of that—but it is a struggle for the vital interests of this country ; proved vital by history ; more vital to-day perhaps than they have ever been before. How vital they are we can best judge by the bitter animosities of our German enemies. Men who cannot find the means to save a British sailor in distress, men who single out our officers and soldiers amongst all the captives for indignities and insults and hardships—what mercy would any of us have at their hands if they were free to fight us alone, and if the struggle was not being waged in the territory of our Allies ? Our frontier is in France and Belgium. [Cheers.] See to it you keep it there until you drive it back over the frontiers of Germany. [Applause.] Before that there is much to be done ; there are many sacrifices to be made. But there can be no peace until Belgium is free—until she has had such compensation as can be given for the bitter cruel wrongs that Belgian citizens have suffered. No peace can be made till France has once again brought liberty, the right to think, to speak, to smile for her own provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. [Applause.] No peace can be made until heroic Serbia wins the just reward of her constancy and courage. No peace can be made until Russia finds satisfaction for her lands which have been ravaged, and her dignity which has been trampled under foot, and for the insults which have been heaped upon her. [Applause.] And no peace can be signed until in the outer

world satisfaction is found for the legitimate aspirations of our own fellow citizens across the seas in Africa and in the Pacific. [Cheers.]

But, if we feel that, have we yet done everything we can do to forward that result? We want more men, and even more urgently than we want men we want munitions of war. And any man who shirks, who dallies at present with personal questions, of whatever class he may be, master or employee, at a time like this, should ever have before him the cry from the trenches, and should remember that for every delay here some man gives up his life in the trenches—that for every failure here some man in France or Belgium pays the penalty in blood. I know that in this city of Birmingham no such appeal is needed. And yet to you I cannot speak without urging that here is the greatest opportunity that has come, or will ever come to any of us in our lives, and that we should search our hearts and consciences to know if in our own spheres and our own way we are doing all we can do to advance the common cause. Never did nation go to war for a more righteous or a more glorious cause. We are here to pledge ourselves to-night to do all in our power to crown that cause with victory. [Cheers.]

M. ARISTIDE BRIAND

[Speech of the Minister of Justice to the Members of the French Senate,
December 22, 1914.]

GENTLEMEN :—The communication I have to make to you is not the usual speech by which a newly-formed Government outlines its policy. There is—at this moment—but one policy : war, pitiless war, until Europe is free, and its freedom secured by a victorious peace. [Cheers.] That is the cry that burst from all hearts when on August 4 there sprang up, as was so well expressed by the President of the Republic, “a sacred union of all parties which in the pages of history will redound to the honour of our country.” That is the cry that all Frenchmen repeat, after having brushed aside the dissensions which have often made us very furious with each other, and which a blinded enemy mistook for irretrievable divisions. It is the cry which rises from the glorious trenches into which France has flung all her youth and all her strength. This overwhelming torrent of national loyalty has somewhat troubled Germany’s dream of victory. At the outset of the conflict, she ignored justice, she appealed to might, she scorned treaties, and in order to violate the neutrality of Belgium and to invade France, she simply invoked the law of self-interest. Later on her Government realized that it must reckon with the world’s opinion, and it has recently attempted to set itself right by casting on the Allies the responsibility of the war. But in spite of all the ponderous falsehoods which deceive no one, truth has prevailed. [Hear, hear, prolonged cheering.]

All the documents published by the nations concerned, and as recently as yesterday at Rome the inspiring speech of one of the most illustrious sons of noble Italy, witness to the long-agreed-upon determination of our enemies to bring about a state of war. If needs be, one of these documents alone would suffice to enlighten the world : when on July 31, 1914, at the suggestion of the English Government all the nations concerned were entreated to suspend military preparations

and to arrange a conference in London. France and Russia agreed, and peace would have been secured, even at that eleventh hour, if Germany had followed their example. But Germany hurried on the crisis, on August 1 declared war on Russia, and thereupon the call to arms was inevitable. And if Germany, diplomatically, shattered peace, it is because for more than forty years she relentlessly pursued the same object—which was the crushing of France and the subduing of the whole world. [Loud cheers.] As a consequence, France and her Allies have been obliged to go to war, and this war they will wage to the bitter end. [Prolonged cheers.]

Loyal to the signature she affixed to the treaty of September 4 last, and by which she pledged her honour, that is to say, her life, France in agreement with her Allies will not cease fighting until outraged justice is avenged, until the provinces torn from her are re-united for ever to France—[loud cheers]—until industrial life in its fullness and political independence are restored to heroic Belgium—[loud and prolonged cheers]—and until Prussian militarism is crushed. [Renewed cheers.] This scheme of war and project of peace are not inspired, gentlemen, by presumptuous hopes. We feel sure of success! [Loud cheers.] We derive this certainty from the whole of our army, from our navy, which allied to the English Navy gives us full control of the seas, from our troops who have fought so bravely in Morocco, from our soldiers who in foreign parts defend our flag in French colonies—that from the very first day of the war turned with such tender affection to the Mother Country. [Hear, hear.] We derive this certainty also from the heroism of our Army, guided by incomparable leaders in the victory of the Marne, in the victory in Flanders, and in many combats—and we are encouraged by our nation that side by side with this heroism has shown the sublime qualities of unity, silence, and calmness in most critical moments. Thus we have been able to prove to the world that an organized democracy can strike a vigorous blow on behalf of its ideals of liberty and equality—[loud cheers]—and in the words of the Commander-in-Chief, who is a great soldier and a great citizen—[renewed cheers]—“the Republic has cause to be proud of the Army she has prepared.” [Loud and renewed cheers.] Thus we have displayed in this wicked war all the virtues of our race—those that were conceded to us: Initiative, buoyancy, temerity, bravery—and those that were denied to us: Endurance, patience, stoicism. Gentlemen, let us salute

all our heroes! Honour to those who have fallen into the grave before victory was won, and honour to those who will avenge them in the near future! A nation that gives birth to such enthusiasm is imperishable. [Hear, hear.] Sheltered by this heroism, the nation has lived, worked, accepted all the consequences of war, and the peace of the community has never been disturbed.

Before leaving Paris—at the earnest request of the military authorities, who arranged the hour and manner of our departure, and after having organized with the help of the Commander-in-Chief the defences of the capital—the Government had begun to take all measures necessary for the well-being of the nation. It has made use of the right which you had given to Parliament to settle all matters. In this complex and delicate work, part of which will be submitted for your approval, it has, by observing great care, been able to secure the working of the public services, to stir up everywhere collective and individual initiative, to bind together economic relations in view of the fact that certain localities had to be revictualled, to watch over and help the unremitting work of equalizing military burdens. The Government has not of course always been free of mistakes, and it has sometimes profited by the suggestions and criticisms which it has received, as is most proper in a democracy where every citizen, including the humblest, is a fellow-worker in governing the country. [Hear, hear.] The Minister of Finance has published his report of the financial situation. The resources which have accrued from the issue of Treasury bonds and the advances of the Bank of France have enabled us to cope with the expenditure imposed by the war, and we have not been obliged to have recourse to a loan. The Bank of France is able, thanks to its excellent position, to furnish the Treasury with money and to help in the recovery of trade. Everything points to the vitality of France, to the security of her credit, to the confidence that she inspires in spite of a war which shakes and impoverishes the world.

The Bank note which is at a premium everywhere, the daily increase of business in the money market, the raising of the proceeds of indirect taxation—these are proofs of the economic strength of a country that adapts itself with ease to difficulties and confidently asserts that the state of its finances will permit it to continue the war until the day when the necessary compensation will have been obtained. [Hear, hear.]

Gentlemen, it is not sufficient to do honour only to the victims fallen on the field of battle. We must also salute the civil population, innocent victims, who until now have always been protected by the international laws of warfare—[prolonged cheers]—and whom the enemy has captured or massacred in order to terrify a nation that has remained and will remain unshaken. With regard to their dependents, it has been an easy thing for the Government to do its duty—but the country's debt has not been paid. [Hear, hear.] Owing to the invasion, some departments have been occupied and are in ruins. The Government takes in your presence a solemn pledge, and which it has in part already carried out, in asking you for a first vote of credit for 300 millions. France will set up again these departments by means of the indemnity which we will exact—[loud cheers]—and in the meantime, by the help of a contribution which the whole nation will pay—proud, in the hour of distress of a number of her children, to fulfil the duty of national responsibility. [Loud cheers.] Thus rejecting the form of help which savours of charity the State takes to itself the right to make amends to those who have suffered as regards property from acts of war—[renewed cheers]—and it will fulfil its duty to the widest limits that the financial capacity of the country will permit and under conditions that a special act of Parliament will determine in order to avoid any injustice. [Hear, hear.]

Gentlemen, the day of decisive victory has not yet arrived. The task will be hard. It may be long. Let us be courageous. Heirs of the most formidable burden of glory that a people can bear, this country assents in advance to all sacrifices. Our Allies recognize this fact. The neutral nations know it, and it is in vain that an unbridled campaign of false news has tried to obtain from them the sympathy which they feel for us. If Germany pretended to doubt this at first, she doubts no longer. Let her realize once more that the French Parliament after more than four months of warfare revives in the sight of the world the spectacle which it offered when, in the name of the nation, it picked up the challenge.

Parliament has full authority to accomplish the work in front of it. The Parliament has been both the expression and guarantee of our liberties for forty-four years—[hear, hear]—it knows that the Government accepts with respect its necessary control, that its confidence is indispensable—[hear, hear]—and that its sovereignty will always be obeyed.

It is this same sovereignty which increases the power of the demonstration of which it has already given an example. In order to conquer, heroism at the frontier is not sufficient, unity at home is required. Let us continue to preserve from every attack this unity. To-day, as it was yesterday, as it will be to-morrow, let there be but one cry: Victory—one object: our country—one ideal: the Right. [Hear, hear.]

It is for the Right that we fight, for it Belgium still fights, she who has given for this ideal all the blood of her veins—[all the deputies and senators rise and cheer loudly]—and others who are fighting for the Right are:—Unshaken England, faithful Russia, brave Servia, the bold Japanese Navy, the heroic Montenegrins. If this war be the greatest history has ever known, it is not because countries are fighting to conquer territories, water-ways, to gain increase of commerce, political and economic advantages, it is because they fight to determine the fate of the world. Nothing grander has ever appeared to the eyes of men than to fight against barbarism and despotism, against the system of provocations and threats which Germany called peace, against the system of murder and wholesale pillage which Germany calls war. [Loud cheers.] And it is against the insolent supremacy of a military caste that France and her Allies have flung themselves as emancipators and avengers. That is what is at stake. Let us then continue to be united in heart and soul, and shortly in the peace of victory, our opinions once more free which we have now voluntarily enchained, we shall remember with pride these tragic days, because they will have made us worthier and better men. [Renewed and prolonged cheers.]

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[Speech delivered in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on September 11, 1914.]

MY LORD PROVOST AND GENTLEMEN :—This is the fourth night in succession that I have been on a platform. Why is it that some of us, myself included, have embarked upon this tour of platform speaking? Not, for a moment, because we think that the spirit of our fellow-countrymen is weak, or that their courage is low, but because at a time of great international crisis like this it is good for all of us to meet and take counsel together, to try to grasp the principles for which we are fighting, to measure the forces against which we have to contend, and perhaps, most of all, to be convinced of the integrity of our cause. [Applause.] For, let us depend upon it, unless our cause is righteous, unless our faith is pure, unless we consecrate ourselves each in his own capacity, body and soul—and soul quite as much as body—to the cause for which we are fighting, and which we believe to be the highest cause for which humanity can contend—[applause]—we have no right, unless we do that, to ask the God above us with His right hand and His holy arm to give us the victory. [Applause.]

This is not the first time, as you may know, that I have spoken in St. Andrew's Hall. [Applause.] I have addressed political and quasi-political meetings here, but we do not think anything about any of those subjects now. [Hear, hear, and applause.] The breath of this war has blown politics out of our life, blown them over the cliffs of Dover into the sea, and as long as this war lasts I believe the old party spirit to be extinct, the old party issues it would be impossible to revive, that we are acting as a nation with one voice, and it may be even when all is over and we resume the ordinary business of life we shall find it a little difficult to accommodate ourselves—[laughter and applause]—to the altered situation, and perhaps some of us may entertain a more charitable vision of our neighbours than we hitherto have been supposed to do. [Laughter and applause.] For my own part, I appear with the



EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON

greatest pleasure on a platform with a member of His Majesty's Government. [Applause.] In the circumstances with which this nation has been confronted they have acted as the trustees of the national honour ought to act. [Loud applause.] They exhausted every effort in the pursuit of peace. [Applause.] It is impossible to read that famous speech of Sir Edward Grey —[applause]—without realizing that we have a Government and a Foreign Minister imbued with the desire for peace, straining every effort to maintain it, and only referring the matter reluctantly in the last resort to the dread arbitrament of war. In a time of crisis such as this it is the duty of the Government to lead, and it is the duty of the rest of us to follow. [Applause.]

When the war broke out some people said to me that I should go to the North of England and to Scotland, and particularly to Scotland, because though very shrewd and very pertinacious and very patriotic, they were somewhat slow of mental movement. [Laughter.] Well, I did not believe for a moment that that was true. My experience of Scotsmen is rather the reverse. Now that I have come to Scotland I can see no signs of slowness and no signs of any reluctance to rouse to a full measure of civic responsibility. [Applause.]

You have contributed 25,000 recruits, which is a noble contribution to the Army that is now being raised. [Applause.] The Corporation are recruiting two battalions, and a third battalion is being raised by the Chamber of Commerce. The various political associations in Glasgow have rendered invaluable services. I see on the platform the Principal of the University. The last time I was here the Principal was defending me from the too affectionate embraces of his students. [Laughter.] The Officers' Training Corps have been doing splendidly in this contribution to the sum-total that is going up from Glasgow, and to the Principal I offer my heartiest congratulations. [Applause.]

I am very glad to hear that the employers of labour in Glasgow have shown an unselfish and a patriotic spirit. I am glad for two reasons, first, because it shows that they are disposed to play their part in the national crisis, and secondly—and this is the more important point—because any generous attitude by private employers of labour in providing for the families of those who are in their employ and of which the breadwinners have gone to the war only acts as a stimulus to the Government to do likewise. [Applause.] I am one of

those who think that the burden of this provision ought not to rest exclusively upon private shoulders, and I am hopeful that the Government will regard it as its duty not merely to provide for the families of those who have lost their lives or are wounded, but that they will endeavour to reinstate them in the positions which they occupied before the war began. [Applause.]

I would have liked very much to have been in the Houses of Parliament yesterday, because there was made there a statement which will ring down the ages as one of the most remarkable pronouncements that has ever been made in Parliament. [Applause.] I allude to the telegram from the Viceroy of India. [Loud applause.] No human being could listen to or read that telegram without a thrill of elation and of pride. [Applause.] For what is the tale that it told? There are coming from India as many as 70,000 of the pick of our forces, British and Indian. [Applause.] With them are coming six Rajahs or Maharajahs, ruling chiefs in their own States—men of ancient lineage, of high authority, of distinguished influence—who have volunteered their services to the Empire which calls them its own. [Applause.] Just contrast these 70,000 with the 7,000 whom Lord Beaconsfield brought as far as Malta nearly forty years ago. Lord Beaconsfield was the first to show to Europe the existence of this potential force in our great Indian Empire. [Applause.] I remember the attacks to which Lord Beaconsfield was subjected for what was considered a theatrical display and an alleged unconstitutional action. But now not a word of criticism, nothing but applause, for this immensely large force. There have also been immense offers of gifts by these great potentates and these States. [Hear, hear.] Tibet has also offered to send troops to our aid. [Applause.] Why are these men coming? What has induced them to volunteer to take part in our battles? They are thousands of miles away. Is it not perfectly clear that they are coming because of the principles for which the Empire stands, which in their eyes are much more than power? [Hear, hear.] The Empire stands for justice, for righteousness, for good government, for mercy, for truth. [Applause.] They have no desire to change that rule for the Prussian sabre or the jackboot of the German infantry. [Hear, hear.] They have no desire to change that rule for any other. If any testimony ever has been required of the feelings by which they were actuated and of the success of the fundamental principles by

which we have endeavoured to rule them, surely it is to be found in this convincing and overwhelming demonstration. [Applause.]

I think sometimes if those men who have given their services, often without recognition, during the last century in India could, as they lay in their graves, hear the march of these 70,000 men across the battlefields of Europe, could hear the sound of the trumpet as it called them to charge, it would indeed be recompense worth living for, worth dying for, worth all the sacrifices that they made. [Applause.] For my own part, I venture to hope that these Indian troops when they come to Europe will be in at the death. [Applause.] I should like to see the lances of the Bengal Lancers—[applause]—fluttering down the streets of Berlin. [Loud and continued applause.] I should like to see the little dark-skinned Gurkha—[loud applause]—making himself at ease in the gardens of Potsdam. [Applause.] Of course I must not ignore the equally spontaneous, equally effective offers of our own kith and kin across the seas—[applause]—and if I have laid stress upon India it is only due to the special circumstances of my own connection with that country. All these people I know. I have reviewed these troops scores of times. These Indian chiefs I know, these Indian officers who are coming and who will conduct themselves in a manner that will give shame to the Huns of Europe. [Loud applause.] These Indian officers have come before me and have held out the hilts of their swords and asked me as the representative of the Sovereign to touch them. I thrill at the memory of these incidents. I glory in the friendship of these men, and I look forward with pride and confidence to the services they will render to their country. [Applause.] The Colonies are doing likewise splendidly. From all parts of the world expeditionary forces are coming, from Canada and Australia, from New Zealand and South Africa. [Applause.] From all parts of the earth we see this great march of the armies, white, yellow, brown, no longer any distinction of colour, all marching to the common centre, all inspired by the same cause, all bent on doing service on the same battlefield. Never before in history has there been anything to compare with this glorious symbol of Empire.

SIR EDWARD HOLDEN

[Speech of the well-known financier on the economic measures adopted by Germany to stand the strain of war, and on the influences of economic factors on the duration of the War, made on January 30, 1915.]

IN view of the attention now being paid to the influence of economic factors on the length and result of the war, it may be well to look at Germany's economic preparations for war, and the prospects of the measures adopted by them to stand the strain of a war which so far has proved far different from the expectation of the German Government.

Economic events in Germany immediately before and after the outbreak of war were significant. On July 18 last, the Dresdner Bank caused a great commotion by selling its securities and by advising its clients to sell their securities. This was recognized as the first semi-official intimation of a probable European conflagration and Berlin became apprehensive. War was declared between Austria and Servia on the 28th, people were seized with panic and great runs took place on the Reichsbank for gold, and on the Joint Stock Banks of Germany for gold or notes. The Reichsbank lost 10 millions sterling of gold or thereabouts, and to prevent further loss a measure was passed prohibiting the bank from paying any more of its notes in gold. To meet the difficulties of the other banks, the Reichsbank discounted during the month of August about 200 millions sterling of bills. Of this amount 117 millions were drawn out in notes, with which the banks were enabled to meet the runs.

Germany next proceeded to establish War Loan Banks, War Credit Banks, and War Aid Banks all over the country under the patronage of Corporations, Municipalities, and private financiers, and to make use of the Mortgage Banks already established. The Reichsbank had the right to issue notes to any amount, provided it held as cover practically one-third in gold and two-thirds in bills of exchange. As the

Reichsbank was to play an important part in war finance, they were careful to keep down the issue of their notes as much as possible, as they knew that criticism would be directed against them. They, therefore, proceeded to issue, and were continuing to issue, notes through the various war and credit banks. Government securities, other securities, and produce are pledged with the war banks, advances to the extent of 75 per cent. being made on the first-named, and on the other classes to the extent of 45 per cent. These advances were made in war bank notes, which were legal tender and perform all the functions of money. The mortgage banks were under the control of Chambers of Commerce and Municipalities, and made advances on the mortgage of properties by an issue of notes which were legal tender and performed all the functions of money.

In this way the country was gradually being supplied with the currency required for carrying on the war, but, knowing that the eyes of the world would be fixed on their gold position, they were careful to maintain a difference between the Reichsbank notes and the notes of the two other classes of banks. The Reichsbank note, although it is no longer payable in gold, was issued on the basis of gold and bills of exchange, while the notes of the war and credit banks had no relation whatever to gold, and were issued on the basis of securities and properties.

The mobilization of the German Armies was financed by the notes of the Reichsbank for from four to six weeks, so that by the end of August, with the war and other demands, the total discounts and loans of the Reichsbank amounted to about 243 millions sterling and the total notes issued to about 212 millions. By this time the pressure on the bank was becoming too great, the war loan was issued and a sum of about 223 millions, partly on Bonds and partly on Treasury Notes, was raised. By the end of the year the whole of the loan was paid up and the debt to the Reichsbank discharged. This first loan was subscribed for to the extent of about 40 millions sterling by persons who obtained loans through the war banks, and 40 millions by depositors in savings banks, leaving about 143 millions to be subscribed by Joint Stock Banks and other people. Thus they saw people pledging their securities and properties and with the proceeds taking up the loan.

The Reichsbank at the end of December, on the basis of its gold, was able to issue a further 200 millions sterling of notes. The money for financing the war would therefore be obtained

again from the bank until the pressure became too great, when a new loan of 250 millions sterling, already sanctioned, would be issued. The operations of the war and mortgage banks would then again take place; new loans would be created, new securities and new properties pledged, and when this loan was taken up the Reichsbank would a second time be paid off. This would carry on the war up to June, when no doubt the Reichsbank would once more be required to provide funds. New loans would be issued and further properties pledged, so we might expect an evil day by and by, when this huge pledging would have to be paid off, and heavy depreciations must inevitably result.

One might well ask the question, How often could this operation be repeated? The cost of the war to Germany was somewhere about two millions per day, so that by the end of twelve months there will have been a drain on the people, either of liquid resources or securities, properties, or produce, amounting to over 700 million sterling.

Germany has a population of about 70 millions of people to be fed, clothed, and largely provided with employment. In 1913 imports into Germany amounted to about 535 millions sterling, and of this 228 millions came from the Allies and their Colonies. The war reduced Germany's imports at one stroke to about 307 millions sterling. A considerable amount of these imports consisted of food products, a large proportion of which came from the Allies. Having regard to the control which the Allies have over the seas, and further to the fact that the Allies' ships as well as German ships are no longer available for the carrying of freight to Germany, one may ask whether the whole of this amount of 307 millions might still find its way into Germany, always remembering that German importers will be prepared to offer greatly enhanced prices to secure what is absolutely necessary for them. For example, it is alleged that cotton, which costs from 6-8 cents per lb. in America, is being sold at from 18-20 cents per lb. in German ports. These imports must be paid for, either by exports, securities, or gold. It is feared that securities held by Germans may find their way on to the London Stock Exchange, but restrictions of such a nature have been placed on transactions there that this will be prevented, and it would appear that restrictions have also been placed on other Stock Exchanges, although perhaps not to so great an extent as in London. Assuming, therefore, that

the difficulties placed in the way of the realization of securities held by Germans are insurmountable, the only two ways remaining of paying for her imports are by exports and by gold. As one of England's objects in taking part in the war has been to prevent the annihilation of small States, the action of such countries in assisting our enemies with food and other commodities appeared ungrateful and suicidal. The exports of Germany in 1913 amounted to about 500 millions sterling, and of this the Allies and their Colonies took about 200 millions, leaving a balance of 300 millions. What proportion of this 300 millions would Germany be able to export? Taking again into consideration that she has neither the same number of ships nor the same number of men engaged in her industries as she had in 1913, and, further, that such proportion of those exports which contain imported raw material will be increased in price, there can be no doubt that her exports will fall off to a much greater extent than her imports, and that the balance will have to be paid in gold. Almost superhuman efforts have been, and are being made, to increase the gold in the Reichsbank. The increase has hitherto been at the rate of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions per week, apparently from circulation and from other sources. The gold now reached about 106 millions sterling. But in order to pay for their imports through Scandinavia and Holland they have already had to export about 5 millions sterling of gold to those countries. Thus the maintenance of the financial position of Germany will depend on the balance of her imports over exports being small, and on the increase of gold exceeding or being equal to the export of gold. I am of opinion that there be will no cessation of this war on account of the gold position in Germany, at all events within twelve months, and it may be longer. But there might be a cessation of hostilities for other reasons. I should say that the weakness would first show itself, if it has not already done so, in Austria and Hungary.

Austria and Hungary are poor countries in comparison with Germany, and have suffered great losses and great lockups of resources in consequence of the Balkan Wars. The Austro-Hungarian Bank performs the same functions for these countries as the Reichsbank does for Germany. For a considerable time the Dual Monarchy has been in the position that its imports have been larger than its exports; consequently, their exchanges have been against them, and although there has been a tendency for their gold to diminish rather

than to increase, yet they have succeeded in maintaining it during the last few years at between 50 and 52 millions sterling. According to law, the Austro-Hungarian Bank is empowered to issue notes so long as two-fifths of the issue is covered by gold and silver. At the beginning of the war there were in the bank about 50 millions sterling of gold. It is difficult to say what gold is held at present, as the bank has ceased to issue a balance-sheet, and one would conclude that the amount of gold must have fallen and not increased, otherwise there would be no necessity for discontinuing to make known their financial position. Assuming, however, that the gold has not diminished and that no alteration has been made in their law, the bank would be able to assist in the financing of the war to the extent of an additional 70 millions sterling. Like Germany, Austria also established war banks for the same purpose, but not to the same extent, but we have no record of the Austro-Hungarian Bank financing the war in the same way as the Reichsbank did. A war loan was issued in November, and to the surprise of most people the subscriptions reached the relatively large total of about 130 millions sterling. Of this about 60 per cent. was subscribed through the joint stock and other banks of Austria-Hungary, leaving about 40 per cent. to the general public.

It was reported that the people were so patriotic and so desirous of assisting their country that small farmers sent the proceeds of their crops, country waiters sent their £5 notes, and servants in country houses sent their savings. In 1913 her imports amounted to about 140 millions sterling, and of these she took about 40 millions from the Allied countries, leaving a balance from other countries of about 100 millions. A large amount of her imports came from her neighbours, and she was not, therefore, to such an extent as Germany dependent on sea transport. She would, of course, curtail all luxuries, but it seems probable that she would be able to keep up her imports to about 100 millions sterling. Her exports in 1913 amounted to about 114 millions, and of these the Allies took about 25 millions, leaving a balance of about 90 millions. In this balance there might be a shrinkage of about one-half, leaving her with exports of, say, between 45 and 50 millions; thus the difference between her imports and exports might amount to the latter figure. She might, therefore, be called upon to pay for her foreign purchases to the extent of between 40 and 50 millions sterling after she had used her exports

in part payment. Even if she pledged her properties and securities as Germany has done, and found sufficient gold to pay for the balance of her imports, one has difficulty in coming to the conclusion that she will be able to continue the war for any great length of time unless she receives financial assistance from Germany.

A German financier, a director of the Deutsche Bank, has made a comparison between the financial condition of Germany and of this country. He contends that Berlin has passed through the financial crisis better than London, inasmuch as we in England had to introduce a Moratorium and they had not. He might also have said : " See how we in Germany have been preparing to meet this crisis, while you in your simplicity have done nothing ! At the beginning of 1910, the year before the Agadir difficulty, we Germans had only about 30 millions sterling of gold in the Reichsbank ; in January, 1911, the year of the Agadir difficulty, we had about 36 millions ; in January, 1912, the year after the trouble, we had about 40 millions ; in January, 1913, we had about 45 millions ; in January, 1914, we had about 60 millions ; we commenced the war with about 68 millions ; and at the present time we have about 106 millions. We have increased our gold during these years by keeping up our bank rate to 5 and 6 per cent. ; by selling exchange on London to prevent gold leaving us ; by threatening our bankers with a blunderbuss if they dared to export gold ; by taking from England large amounts of South African gold, even at a loss ; by putting out small notes in order to drive gold into the bank ; by coining silver and putting that into circulation to drive in the gold ; by paying State employees in small notes instead of gold ; and since the outbreak of war our supply has been further augmented—by stopping people at the frontiers, taking their gold from them and giving them notes ; by clerics preaching to the people to give up their gold and take notes ; by melting down gold ornaments and sending the gold into the Reichsbank in exchange for notes ; by giving soldiers certain leave of absence if they could collect ten-mark gold pieces and longer leave for twenty-mark pieces, also in exchange for notes." In fact, he might have summed up the whole position in the words of an American writer who said : " When the pinch arises Germany will organize herself economically as thoroughly and as ruthlessly as she organized her armies," and he might have said, in the words of another German banker, " Every mark

will be squeezed until it shrieks." He might continue: "It is true we had runs on the Reichsbank and on our Joint Stock Banks; it is true we lost ten millions of gold from the Reichsbank (which we have now got back), but our Joint Stock Banks met all their liabilities, because our currency system is better than yours. We discounted about 120 millions sterling of bills and issued to our banks and the public 120 millions of notes. You could not have done this, because your law prevented you. If you had issued notes based on one-third gold and two-thirds of securities, you need not have had a Moratorium, that is, of course, if you had had the foresight to alter your law before the crisis was upon you." The German financier might further call our attention to what President Havenstein said on September 9 last: "The plans for the financial mobilization of the country, thought out and prepared down to the final details by all the institutions concerned, have proved extraordinarily efficient. There was no breakdown, no leakage, or none that could have been foreseen in time of peace."

Of what did this "financial mobilization" in Germany, "by all the institutions concerned," consist? The war banks created in all important towns, with capitals varying with the populations, were really all "annexes" of the Reichsbank, and the Government gave them the power of discounting. The discounts or advances were to be covered by different kinds of securities. The majority were to be made for six months (on the presumption, I suppose, that the war would be finished by that time). When the advances were made, special currency notes, different in appearance from the notes of the Reichsbank, were issued for the amount of the advance. These notes were of denominations as low as the equivalents of one shilling, two shillings, and five shillings. Their connection with the Reichsbank was most important, inasmuch as the notes could be paid into that institution to take up the War Loan, or for credits for other purposes. These notes had greater power than Reichsbank notes, because when they were paid into the Reichsbank they formed a part of its cash balance or reserve upon which Reichsbank notes could be issued, thus giving the war bank notes practically the same qualities as gold. The object of issuing Reichsbank notes on the basis of war bank notes was to enable them to increase the issue of Reichsbank notes in case of necessity, and further because the latter had a better status among the people than the former.

One of the objects of the war bank notes was to drive gold from circulation into the Reichsbank. Any one examining the statement of the Reichsbank during the last three or four months would see that these notes formed a considerable amount of the bank's reserve. It was to be presumed that in this plan of mobilization the war banks would be able to increase their advances and their issues on the creation of every new War Loan. The charge to be made for the accommodation granted was from $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 1 per cent. over the Reichsbank rate, which was 6 per cent. up to December 15, and has been 5 per cent. since that date. The fact that there were to be margins of 25 per cent. on Government securities and of 45 to 55 per cent. on other securities showed that the "mobilizers" realized that they must provide against the possibility of heavy depreciations. The Reichsbank had 486 offices throughout the country, and each office, no doubt, would have the faculty for taking in the war bank notes and putting out Reichsbank notes. This meant nothing more nor less than an issue of Reichsbank notes on the basis of the securities of all these war banks. A most important feature of this mobilization scheme was that from August 1 the Reichsbank declined to pay its notes in gold. They made greater use of the mortgage banks, the notes of which were identical in power and use with the notes of the war banks. Another part of their scheme was to relieve the pressure on insurance companies by forming an insurance bank, which advanced 40 per cent. on the value of policies. These advances were paid in notes, which were exchanged for Reichsbank notes in the same way as war and mortgage bank notes. All these banks were authorized, in the first instance, to issue in the aggregate about 70 millions sterling of currency notes, but this amount was afterwards increased to about 140 millions. There was one great defect in these mobilization schemes. They may have for the time supplied all the currency needed for the wants of the people and for subscriptions to the War Loans, but the defect was that the Reichsbank note, which had hitherto been paid in gold, had now become inconvertible. This caused the note to fall to a discount.

To see how this depreciation in the note was brought about, I examined the exchange between Amsterdam and Berlin. If the imports into Germany from Holland were equal to the exports from Germany to Holland, we should have what is

called the par of exchange—*i.e.*, 59.26 florins would be equal in value to 100 marks. There would be debts in Amsterdam due to Berlin equal to the debts in Berlin due to Amsterdam. These would be settled by the merchants in Berlin, who had sent goods to Holland, selling cheques on Amsterdam to merchants in Berlin, who had purchased goods from Holland. Suppose the goods which were shipped to Holland from Germany were less in value than the goods shipped from Holland to Germany, then, evidently, there would be more buyers in Berlin of exchange on Amsterdam than sellers, the price would begin to move from par, and the buyer in Berlin would have to take less florins in Amsterdam for his 100 marks. The only check to this fall would be the export of gold. If he could not obtain gold, the exchange would fall further, and the merchant who bought the exchange would have to give more notes to the seller. Consequently the cost of the commodities would be higher, and the note would buy less than it would have bought if it had been exchangeable for gold. Since the beginning of this war the merchants in Berlin had to pay 100 marks for 54.20 florins on an average, showing a loss of over five florins per 100 marks, or about $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The exchanges show during the whole period of the war that the exports from Germany to Holland have been less than the imports from Holland to Germany. The exchanges have continuously been below par, the prices of the goods have increased correspondingly and the consumers have had to give more notes. Consequently, during the whole time, the notes have been at a discount. In the case of the Scandinavian imports and exports to and from Germany we find the same thing. The exchanges with Stockholm, Christiania, and Copenhagen have all fallen, showing in each case that merchants in Germany have not been getting par value for their goods. The par of exchange between New York and Berlin was 95.28 cents for four marks. There were more sellers of exchange in respect to goods shipped to Germany from America than buyers of exchange for goods shipped from Germany to America, and four marks had been worth as little as 86 cents in New York, which meant a loss of about $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If there was a rise in price for any other reason it would cause a still larger loss on the note.

These are the inevitable results of refusing to pay out gold, but the designers of these schemes knew that, whatever happened, they must economize their gold. Nevertheless, they

have been compelled to send gold to Holland and the Scandinavian countries to the extent of about 5 millions. For this and other reasons I cannot agree with the Director of the Deutsche Bank that Germany has got through the crisis better than we have done. The proper time to test the soundness of the schemes comprised in President Havenstein's "financial mobilization" will arrive only when all those securities which have been pledged are redeemed. It is easily conceivable that enormous losses will then occur to all those people who have been unfortunate enough to have become indebted to the war banks, the mortgage banks, or any other of those societies which have taken securities and goods in pledge.

MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE

[Speech at a great recruiting meeting held in the Albert Hall,
Nottingham, on September 21, 1914.]

MR. MAYOR, MY LORD DUKE, AND GENTLEMEN :—When it was intimated to me that I was expected to come here to-night and say a few words to you, I own that for a moment I rather doubted whether it would be possible for me to say anything to you which would really add to your knowledge, or increase your determination to stand by the Government of the country at this great crisis. All the sources of information which are open to me have been open to you, and I feel no doubt that there is not a man in this room who is not convinced that our cause is just—[Hear, hear]—and that it is our duty to put forth every effort in support of it. [Cheers.]

But, after all, these meetings, perhaps, do some good. In the first place, they establish the fact that at this moment we know no distinction of party. [Cheers.] Mr. Goldstone and I, so far as I am aware, have not met on a platform before—[laughter]—but it is surely a good thing that we should make it plain to every one in this country and out of this country that we desire at this solemn moment to present a united front to the world. These meetings, too, enable us to focus our attention upon the points which are really of most importance at this juncture. With your permission, I will say a word about one or two of them. Now, there is a question which I dare say is on the lips of many people.

A question of this kind. Here are we, the most peace-loving people in the world, with no aggressive designs, involved in this colossal struggle, sure to cost us a tremendous price in treasure, in that which we value more than treasure—the lives of our fellow citizens—and in the dislocation of our commerce. How came we to have been entangled in this dispute, which, as we all know, arose out of a quarrel in a remote South-East European State, with which we have

little concern, and in which we take an interest of very secondary order? How came that about?

Would it not have been easier for us to stand aside, to let those great antagonists fight it out amongst themselves, and then at the end to come forward, smug and smiling, without loss, without injury to our country or its possessions, and perhaps to claim our share of any good things which might happen to be lying about? Now, I want to impress upon you, if I can, that if we had been foolish enough to use that language, we should absolutely have forfeited the position which we desire to see this country occupy, and the great prospects to which we desire it to look forward in the future. [Cheers.] I think every one is aware that what brought us into the dispute at the last was the violation of the neutrality of Belgium. Was it possible for us to be indifferent to that violation? [Cries of "No."] At any rate, Belgium set us a splendid example. [Cheers.]

Belgium might have saved her churches, cathedrals, and libraries; she might have saved her smiling fields; she might have saved her people from the nameless sufferings which they have undergone; but she, at any rate, felt that to do that at the price of her own disgrace was a sacrifice which she was utterly unable to make. [Hear, hear.] Belgium never hesitated. Are we going to hesitate? [No.]

Now remember that just as Belgium was offered clumsy bribes by Germany, so we were offered inducements which Germany thought would be sufficient. We were offered them on condition that we would allow a certain "scrap of paper" to be torn up. There was more than one scrap of paper. There was in the first place the treaty of 1839, entered into between the Sovereigns of this country and Belgium, solemnly guaranteeing the integrity and independence of Belgium. Then came the treaty of 1870, entered into between the King of the Belgians and Queen Victoria, in which again the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed, and in which there was inserted a solemn enactment that if that neutrality should ever be endangered the two Governments, the Governments of Great Britain and of Belgium, were to concert together the measures necessary in order to secure the independence of Belgium.

I dwell on these words because I shall have to remind you of them in a moment. And the third scrap of paper was that which was signed in the year 1907 at the time of The Hague Convention, when the signatories, of whom, of course, Germany

was one, bound themselves that they would treat neutral territory as inviolable, and not permit it to be used for the passage of troops or munitions of war. Now all these scraps of paper we had been asked to put into the waste-paper basket, and what do you think the plea was upon which this appeal was made to us? The plea was that if we did not break our treaty obligations with regard to Belgium, France was ready to do so.

That plea was a monstrous plea, and it was an utterly untrue statement. It was a monstrous plea because when, in public or private life, you are asked to consent to a disgraceful action, it is no justification to say that somebody else is going to do a disgraceful action also. [Hear, hear.] But the plea was utterly untrue. And I should like to tell you very shortly what the facts were. On a certain date your Government asked the Government of France and the Government of Germany whether they intended to respect the neutrality of Belgium.

What was the answer of the French Government? They replied at once, straightforwardly and unequivocally, that they had no intention of trespassing on the neutrality of Belgium, that they had announced this more than once, and that they had announced it of their own accord. That was the straightforward answer of the French Government. [Cheers.]

Now let me give you the answer of the German Government. There were two interviews between our Ambassador and the German Minister. At the first of these the German Minister said that he would like to have time to reflect. [Laughter.] He said his mind was so full of grave matters that he could not be quite certain of remembering all the points. [More laughter.] That was on July 30. On the following day there was another interview. On that occasion the German Minister said that he must consult the Emperor and the Chancellor before he could give an answer and that he doubted very much whether they would give one. [Laughter.] What do you think of that as an answer to the simple and practical question as to whether you are going to fulfil your obligations or not?

Well, in these circumstances I venture to suggest to you that in this matter our honour as guarantors of the independence and integrity of Belgium was not less deeply engaged than the honour of Belgium itself. [Cheers.] And I suggest to you that if we had repudiated that obligation we should have

committed what has been well called an outrage on the law of nations and a menace to all the smaller nationalities of Europe. [Cheers.]

But it is impossible to consider this question of the violation of Belgian neutrality without giving some consideration to the events which immediately preceded it. We have now before us the evidence of our two Ambassadors, Sir Edward Goschen, of Berlin, and Sir Maurice de Bunsen, of Vienna, both of them men of the highest honour and integrity, and the facts are before us. Now after a careful study of these papers I am here to tell you that they leave upon one's mind the irresistible conclusion that this dispute between Austria and Servia, followed by the dispute between Austria and Russia, might have been amicably adjusted but for the sinister influence of German diplomacy.

Germany knew all about the demands which Austria was making upon Servia. She concealed these documents, so far as she was able to do so, from the representatives of the other Powers. [Hear, hear.] Germany gave no encouragement to Austria to consider that reply, and then came the moment when our Foreign Minister—[cheers]—to whose conduct in these negotiations I desire to pay my humble tribute—[cheers]—proposed that there should be a conference of the great Powers to endeavour to arrive at an adjustment of the dispute.

Now, how was that proposal received? France accepted it—[Hear, hear]; Russia was ready to discuss it; Italy favoured it; Austria, we know now, was ready to agree to mediation on the two outstanding points. But Germany cavilled at the proposal, and obstructed it at every turn.

At that moment if, as one of the diplomatists so well said, Germany had chosen to touch the button the whole aspect of the controversy would have been changed. [Hear, hear.]

And what was it we asked for? Sir Edward Goschen, at the moment when mediation was in sight, asked for a little respite in time. Sir Maurice de Bunsen observed that a few days might, in all probability, have saved Europe from one of the greatest calamities in history. But the little respite of time was not allowed, and that was the moment which Germany chose—first, to endeavour to buy us off, and, secondly, to launch a double-barrelled ultimatum, two within three days, with so short a period of grace that from that moment war became inevitable. It was well said by one of the Ministers

that throughout all this business Germany knew very well what she was about !

But we have, I venture to think, to consider, not only our obligations to Belgium, but our obligations to another country. What of our obligations to France? [Hear, hear.] We were not bound to France by any written engagement, but there are engagements between honourable men and honourable nations which are just as binding, though they are unwritten, as if they were formally engrossed upon any number of sheets of paper. And it was by such engagements that we were bound to France.

I need not remind you that, ten years ago, the Government of this country made an arrangement with the French Republic for the settlement of a number of outstanding differences between us—an arrangement which, during the years that have since passed, has ripened and become more intimate, and which has, I venture to think, on more than one occasion stood this country, and not only this country, but the whole of Europe, in very good stead. And I say that, with the knowledge that we were bound to France by honourable engagements of this kind, it would have been impossible for us to sit still while France was crushed, robbed, and humiliated. [Cheers.]

Well, there are our obligations to Belgium, and our obligations to France, but, if you want really to understand this problem, I think it is necessary to probe a little more deeply. I venture to tell you that if there had been no Belgian difficulty, if there had been no *Entente Cordiale* with France, this crisis, which has been forced upon us by Germany, would have had to be faced, sooner or later. [Cheers.]

Her conduct, her diplomacy, the speeches of her public men, the teaching of her schools and Universities, leave no doubt of the aspirations with which she was inspired. We know what her aim was—to establish a great military despotism, extending from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. The means which she was ready to use were to be found in an aggressive and unscrupulous diplomacy based upon a complete disregard of treaty obligations whenever those treaty obligations happened to be inconvenient to herself. That policy was, as we know, to be supported by military and naval preparations upon a vast scale directed with scarcely any concealment against this country.

Germany is a great continental Power. We never grugged

her the possession of a great army. We are an insular and a maritime Power. Why should Germany have grudged us the possession of a fleet adequate to secure our own shores and to protect our own commerce? But we know that she has grudged us that fleet, and that her naval preparations have been made with the deliberate intention of finding an opportunity for destroying that naval pre-eminence which every Englishman regards as indispensable for this country. [Cheers.] We know another thing, that when Germany declares war, she means to wage it ruthlessly and pitilessly. The saying is attributed to Prince Bismarck that when one country conquers another the conquered country should be left nothing except eyes with which to weep. [Shame.] That is a horrible sentiment, but it seems to be not very much out of accord with the events which we are now witnessing in Belgium and France.

It is a policy deliberately based upon brutal reprisals, upon the wanton destruction of edifices consecrated by many centuries, which have escaped scatheless during the many wars which have desolated that part of Europe.

Then what do you say to the practice of dropping high explosives from the sky on to peaceful and unguarded cities? [Shame.] What do you say to the practice of strewing ocean highways with mines, dangerous not merely to the enemies themselves, but to the peaceful commerce of the whole world? [Shame.] Let me recall to you a rather interesting incident connected with this question of mines. The question of laying mines in the ocean highways came up for discussion at The Hague Conference, and I will read to you a short extract from the speech made there by the German representative.

The object, of course, at The Hague Conference was to mitigate, as far as possible, the horrors and sufferings which war involves to peaceful populations. Here is what was said by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein: "The belligerent who lays mines assumes a very heavy responsibility towards neutrals and peaceful navigation, but military acts are not ruled exclusively by the stipulations of international law. There are other factors, conscience, good sense, and the sentiment of duties imposed by the principles of humanity, and these will be the surest guide." And then he adds: "The officers of the German navy, I say it with a high voice, will always fulfil in the strictest manner the duties which flow from

the unwritten law of humanity and civilization." [Cries of "Oh, oh."]

Gentlemen, I leave that to you. You know how the unwritten law of humanity and civilization has been complied with during the last few weeks.

Now, I have delayed you for so long over these details—[cries of "Go on"]—I have left myself hardly a moment in which to say something about the war, and the preparations which we desire to make in order to prosecute it successfully. But I am not uneasy on that point, because Mr. Goldstone, who will follow me, has been taking a very active part in this recruiting campaign—[cheers]—and will talk to you with more authority than I can upon that subject. But let me, in half a dozen sentences, endeavour to take stock of the situation.

In the first place, I suggest to you that in all that has happened lately, there is nothing whatever which obliges us in any way to depart from the feeling of quiet confidence with which we have embarked upon this struggle. [Cheers.]

As for our own Army—[cheers]—the mobilization of the Expeditionary Force was a splendid achievement. [Hear, hear.] So was its transport across the Channel to the seat of war. And we know that from the time of its arrival it has never ceased to command, and to deserve, the respect of the Allies who fought by its side, and, I think I may add, of the foe to whom it has been opposed. [Cheers.]

Our Fleet—[cheers]—our Fleet remains intact. [Cheers.] Some people are, I think, a little disappointed because it has not made its appearance in the open, and sunk the German ironclads yet. It will do that in the fulness of time. [Cheers.]

But in the meantime it is doing this country the greatest service that it could possibly render by keeping the German fleet at home—[laughter and cheers]—and thereby securing to our commerce the free use of the seas, and to our people and their Allies that constant influx of supplies which are so indispensable to us. [Cheers.]

Of the splendid fighting qualities shown by our French Allies—[cheers]—it is scarcely necessary to speak. The *Entente* has been cemented by the blood of brave men who have fallen side by side in France and in Belgium. [Cheers.] Nor must we forget a word of admiration for the huge Russian army—[cheers]—advancing in irresistible strength across the Continent of Europe. [Cheers.] And although Paris has not

fallen—[laughter]—there is another capital which perhaps some day may.

One word, if I may, upon our gallant Allies in the Far East—Japan. [Cheers.] I had the honour in the year 1905 to sign on behalf of his Majesty's Government a treaty with the Government of Japan. That scrap of paper has not been put in the waste-paper basket. Japan is going to pay off some old scores. And I think you may trust her to pay, not twenty shillings in the pound, but more. Yes, but is there nothing else? Beyond all these comes our Glorious Empire. [Prolonged cheers.] We are beginning to realize what the empire means—[Hear, hear]—not merely wide areas coloured red upon the map, but a great group of young nations fired with the energy and ideals of youth, and straining at the leash in order that they may join the Mother-country in this colossal struggle. [Cheers.] Canada—[cheers]—is giving us all that her great and boundless granaries can afford, her horses, her men. [Hear, hear.] Australia and New Zealand—[cheers]—are ready with contingents provided—I am going to give you Lord Kitchener's words—[cheers]—provided under the system of general national training introduced a few years ago. [Cheers.]

And South Africa. [Cheers.] We have our old opponents ready to join with their brother colonists to take their place by our side in the battlefield. [Cheers.] And lastly, what about India? [Cheers.] We talk about the people of India, but we forget that the word India embraces a number of different peoples, peoples of different races, of different religions, of different types and habits. But they are all ready to come forward. [Cheers.] They are ready to give us men and money, their jewels, anything that they have, and I am able to say that the first contingent of these splendid fighting men whom India can produce is already beginning to arrive. [Cheers.] Has there ever been anything like it in the history of the world?

And now, before I sit down, let us ask ourselves what are we doing at home? There are some very obvious things that occur to one. We shall not lose our heads; we didn't lose them after the fighting at Mons and Charleroi. We shall not lose them whatever happens; we shall bear bravely any inconveniences, any losses, any trials that this war may bring to us, and God knows the trials may be indeed hard for some of us to bear. Well, we shall also do, I know, what we can to make things easy for those who depend upon the men who are

fighting for us. [Cheers.] And last, but not least, we shall do all that we can to help the cause of recruiting. [Hear, hear.]

I am glad to know that I have the honour of addressing a considerable number of young men who have joined the Nottingham City Battalion. [Cheers.] But unless I am misinformed you would like to have a few more to join you. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] I hope one of the results of this evening's meeting may be to double the present force. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] The response that has been made to Lord Kitchener's appeal has been a splendid response. [Hear, hear.] It is a wonderful thing that in little more than a month half a million of men have come forward to serve their country. [Cheers.]

In one day we took 35,000 men, which represents about the state of recruiting for the whole of a normal year. That is a wonderful performance! That sudden outburst of recruiting came just at a moment when things were not going well for us, and when, therefore, the young men of this country felt it was their duty to come forward and stand by us.

But don't let us suppose that this recruiting problem is by any means over. We have got not only to put these armies into the field, but to keep them there, and we know what a terrible thing the wastage of an army is from wounds and other causes during a long campaign. I am told that for every man you wish to keep in the field you ought to be recruiting and training two men in order to keep the army full if you expect these operations to last for a long time.

There is another point to which I would call your attention. I feel sure that in this great enterprise the War Office, which has undergone a tremendous strain during the last few weeks, will be glad to rely upon the assistance of local bodies. Local authorities obviously must know a good deal more about local details than people at headquarters, and I am convinced that the assistance which can be given to the War Office at such a juncture as this—for example, by territorial associations, which now cover the whole country, and by such bodies as local councils of all kinds—that assistance is simply invaluable. I am sure that that assistance will be forthcoming, and forthcoming ungrudgingly.

This struggle is going to be a protracted one. How long, I do not suppose any one knows. We all desire it to be short, but if we wish it to be short we must push it as hard as we can all the time. [Cheers.]

I think our staying powers are better than the staying powers of our opponents. [Cheers.] You have, I dare say, noticed within the last few days a suggestion—I think of German origin—[laughter]—that the time has come when this war might be treated as a drawn game. [Renewed laughter.] Not quite, I think! [Cheers.] If you look at the matter as a sort of debtor and creditor account I don't think the conclusion that one would come to is that at this moment it looks like a drawn game. Belgium has been devastated, churches and cathedrals have been destroyed, but the smashing blow at the Allies has not yet been delivered, and we are holding our own well. [Cheers.] In the eastern theatre of war the advantage seems to be entirely on the side of the Allies.

I therefore venture to suggest to you that there is no question, so far as we are concerned, of declaring the innings closed just yet. [Cheers.] The game is a game worth winning, and under Providence we mean to win it. [Cheers.] I read the other day a pathetic account of what happened to an English officer who was badly wounded on the Belgian battlefield early in those hostilities. As he looked around him and saw the ravaged fields, the smoking rafters, the misery of the women and children, there rose to his lips the cry, "If these things were to happen in England!" We don't mean them to happen in England—[cheers]—and, therefore, we mean to win this game, conscious that our cause is a just cause, and that it is the cause not only of England, but the cause of civilization and of humanity. [Loud cheers.] I have the honour to move the first resolution:—

That this meeting of citizens of Nottingham, profoundly believing that we are fighting for a just cause, for the vindication of the rights of small States and the public law of Europe, pledges itself unswervingly to support the Government in all measures necessary for the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, whereby alone the lasting peace of Europe will be achieved.

[Cheers.]

M. PAUL HYMANS

[Speech by the Belgian Ambassador in London on Belgium and the Right,
at the University of Lyons, January 30, 1915.]

I SHOULD like first of all to recall to your mind the two treaties of 1831, signed by England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, and that of 1839, approved by Holland, which guaranteed the independence of Belgium, and declared it to be a neutral state for all time.

A German jurist states that the duty of a neutral state is "to abstain from every aggression, to watch over the inviolability of its territory, and as a consequence not to allow one of the belligerents to use it as a base of operations for hostilities against the other." In return the Powers who guaranteed the neutrality have duties towards Belgium, which another German jurist, the famous Bluntschli, formulates as follows: "If the nations which have guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium do not defend her against an invader, and do not keep to their engagements, they are guilty of the violation of the Right."

Now until 1914 Belgium has scrupulously kept to her engagements: in 1914 Germany has brutally violated hers. And yet, during the last few years, whenever there arose a diplomatic crisis, Germany every time made reassuring declarations to Belgium. In 1911 Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg stated "that Germany had no intention of violating the neutrality of Belgium." In 1913, in answer to a socialist deputy on the committee of the Budget in the Reichstag, von Jagow replied: "The neutrality of Belgium is settled by international treaties which Germany will most certainly respect."

Right up to the very last moment Germany unceasingly sought to captivate the confidence of Belgium. On August 1, when the French Minister, M. Klobukowski, promised that France would respect the neutrality of Belgium, the German Minister, von Below, said that he was not authorized to make an official communication, but he added that "they knew his

personal opinion with regard to the security which Belgium had the right to expect from her eastern neighbours." On August 2, at three o'clock in the afternoon, von Below, interviewed by a Belgian journalist, stated: "Perhaps your neighbour's roof will be set on fire, but your house will be saved." Therefore when at 8 o'clock I met the King's Secretary and learnt from him that an hour before, the German Minister had asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs to grant him an interview, we both supposed that he had come to bring a fresh assurance of his government to respect the Belgian neutrality. Alas! the tragedy had begun, and it was the ultimatum that had been handed in. At ten o'clock in the evening, the Cabinet met at the Palace. There were two policies: to sell themselves, to accept gold—much gold—betray Europe, accept Germany's friendship, or remain faithful to their pledges and save their honour. The Cabinet did not hesitate. To gold they preferred honour—to friendship they preferred liberty.

Never shall I forget that historic night, pregnant with momentous and fateful issues, how, when there dawned the morning of a beautiful summer's day, I crossed the city still asleep and thought with a heavy heart: "What an awakening!"

Belgium sprang to arms with one heart and soul, and with but one cry: "All for honour, all for our country."

Germany has now at last understood the shame with which her brutal aggression has covered her in the eyes of the world, and she has sought to wash away the stain of mud and blood from her hands. She has invented pretexts, explanations, excuses, calumnies—labour lost! Impartial history will always remember the statement of the Chancellor in the Reichstag: "We violate the right of nations, but the security of the Empire makes it necessary, and necessity knows no law." Impartial history will also record the words of the Chancellor when addressing the English Ambassador, Sir Edward Goschen: "Neutrality is only a word; the treaty, is but a scrap of paper."

Then began the war, an unjust war against the pledged word and right. And what a war! Devastation and systematic terrorism! In the general confusion, most people clung to the hope that the idea of Right had so penetrated men's minds that the war would be accompanied by the minimum of cruelty, that human and chivalrous methods would prevail. Vain illusion! Belgium has suffered the atrocities of German warfare, fire, pillage, massacre, wholesale slaughter of innocent women and children, and crimes unmentionable. How the world

will shudder when it reads the "Red Book," the book of horrors!

Doubtless war is war, it is not afternoon tea! You can excuse individual outrages, the unbridling of instincts on the part of a soldiery in delirium, of brutes drunk with fury and blood. But how can you forgive deliberate outrages committed by order? A Belgian lady, whose care and devotion had healed a German soldier, begged him, on saying good-bye, to wage war with mercy, and not to massacre the women and children. The soldier replied: "We must, we have to do it." Alas! no truer word! It is massacre by order! We have unimpeachable proofs of it. A placard affixed in Hasselt on August 17 bears these words: "In the case where inhabitants fire on the soldiers of the German army, a third of the male population will be shot."

On August 22 General von Bulow imposed on the town of Wavre a war tax of 3,000,000 francs, and the Burgomaster received this notice: "The town of Wavre will be burnt and destroyed if payment is not made on the stated day; without respect of any one, the innocent will suffer with the guilty." On October 5, a notice affixed in Brussels gave a list of the depredations committed on the railway, telegraph, and telephone lines and added: "In the future, the places nearest the spots where similar misdeeds are done—it matters not whether they are accomplices or not—will be punished without mercy."

Belgium has suffered a cruel martyrdom. Her fields laid waste, her houses destroyed, her towns and monuments ransacked—Dinant, which mired herself in the clear waters of the Meuse; Dixmude, graceful and coquettish; Ypres, crowned with her majestic *halles*; Louvain, with her treasure houses and her priceless library. A million Belgians are exiled from their country—families are separated; terrible physical sufferings, still greater moral sufferings. But in all her suffering and martyrdom there still remains to us the pride and consolation of our Army—all that remains to unfortunate Belgium. Our Army still stands and fights on. It was with anxious hearts that the members of the government watched it, on the day of mobilization, dash itself against the German Colossus; these lads, accustomed to peace, absorbed in intellectual pursuits or being trained for business, how would they behave on the battlefield? They have shown themselves to be an army of heroes. It was the

épopée of Liège, Louvain, Antwerp, the banks of the Yser, where for a fortnight it held fast in the mud and under the devastating fire ! What a tragic sight is that of the phalanx now hanging on to a shred of territory, which after all is still the Fatherland !

What splendid men have sprung from Belgian soil ; to whom history will pay homage ! Leman, the heroic defender of Liège, who barely escaped death under the ruins of his fort. Adolphus Max, who, by his brave and firm stand, subdued Teutonic arrogance ; Cardinal Mercier, clothed in his purple, grave and dignified, the personification of Christian grandeur ; King Albert, who does his duty simply and nobly, and symbolizes in all eyes the heroism of integrity ; and last our Queen, the good fairy of Belgian hospitals, who showers on the wounded her gracious and kindly acts.

Germany, carried away by her monstrous selfishness, has torn up treaties, has proclaimed the law of might ; we Belgians stand to defend the right and civilization. What could be higher than that ?

What would become of the modern world if the first place was given to the perfection of material power, the technique of homicide ? The aim of civilization is to curb physical cravings, to discipline intellectual energies, to spiritualize and moralize life. What would happen if instincts were allowed to be unbridled without any restraint, if good faith disappeared, if the great lights of justice and fraternity were extinguished ? The world would then be only a chaos of abject materialism, it would sink into the abyss of barbarism, the work of centuries would have to begin again.

Belgium represents the right of existence of small nations. In the name of what principle does a nation powerful in numbers and in armament seek to destroy or absorb a neighbouring nation less strong and smaller ? Is it because small nations have no spiritual qualities ? Belgium by her customs, her institutions, her social progress, by the radiancy of her art and poetry fills a special niche in the concert of civilized nations. What right has this German Kultur to wish to impose itself on other cultures ? The doctors beyond the Rhine, in the intoxication of their pride, declare that it is the mission of their country to subdue other nations. But in this German Kultur, there is lacking the respect, the care of the individual, the sense of individuality. The German idea of the State is a formidable machine, managed by a privileged caste, and of which man

is only an infinitely small and automatic wheel. And I think, on the other hand that the best and true culture is that which seeks to expand the faculties of man, to develop the conscience and feeling of individual responsibility.

Belgium will live because it has the right to live, and our dead bear witness that she wishes to live. She will live in quietness, making progress, seeking a just and durable peace.

Looking beyond the sorrows of the present hour, I see a Belgium wounded, but standing erect, prouder and more beautiful. According to a saying of General Leman, "The wounds of glory heal quickly."

The Allies are fighting for this resurrection of Belgium, they have drawn the sword in a noble cause, and they will not sheath it until the Right has been avenged. Belgium, mother of heroes, martyr for the Right—immortal Belgium! [Prolonged applause.]

M. SAZONOFF

[Speech of the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs at the opening of the Duma on September 9, 1914.]

Now that a successful issue of the war is becoming ever more apparent, the profound confidence of the Russian people in the final triumph is becoming absolute conviction. [Cheers.] Our heroic Army, the pride of Russia, is, notwithstanding all losses, stronger than ever, and its might is growing day by day. The exploits of our troops and the valuable services rendered by our Allies, who are making great efforts to defeat the weakening enemy, bring us ever nearer to the desired goal.

The brave Russian troops standing shoulder to shoulder with their Allies have secured fresh laurels for their crown of glory.

The Russian arms are marching steadfastly toward their goal, assured of final victory against an enemy who, blinded by the hope of an easy victory, is making desperate efforts, having recourse to all kinds of subterfuges, even the distortion of the truth. The Austrians and Germans have sought to show that the conflagration was started because they had been forced into war. It was useless to repeat the old cry that King Edward, England's illustrious ruler, sought to surround Germany with enemies, because the whole world was aware of the love of peace of that wise Monarch, who was aware of the wild ambitions of the politicians of Berlin, and who knew that only a *rapprochement* of Powers having common interests could assure to Europe stable political equilibrium. Moreover, the agreements entered into or projected by King Edward were fundamentally defensive.

Quite different has been the attitude of the Germans in recent years, particularly with regard to Russia, which has remained faithful to her policy of centuries. To the relations of good neighbourliness faithfully maintained by Russia, Germany has everywhere opposed resistance, seeking to embroil Russia with neighbouring countries, especially those to which

Russia was bound by important interests, such as the Scandinavian countries, where Germany sowed distrust of Russia ; such as Galicia, where German gold created a Ukraine movement ; such as Roumania, where the Germans tried to blunt the consciousness of the community of interests between Roumanians and Russians ; and such as Turkey, where German intrigues flourished, in Europe and Asia. In Persia German agents, violating the Potsdam agreement and the promises given to Russia, had sought to compromise Anglo-Russian interests. The same intrigues had been carried on in China and Japan, but they have luckily been sterile.

So too have the German attempts to sow discord among the Allies by spreading reports that one or other of them was inclined to conclude a separate peace proved futile. Fortunately all these efforts have ended in pitiful failure. The world knows that the union of the Allies is immutable, that it is becoming daily closer and stronger, and that its sole purpose is to destroy the military power of the enemy in order to create a state of things which will permit Europe to live and enjoy an enduring peace. In this common task each Ally is doing its share and they are vigorously helping each other. Our Allies have expressed their admiration of the efforts of Russia, who has sent her battalions to innumerable battlefields and who is successfully fighting three Empires on an enormous front. For our part, we value most highly the unexampled valour of our Allies. We have a perfect appreciation of their co-operation on land and sea.

I shall mention once more heroic Belgium, whose deeds and sufferings have won for her imperishable glory. I also take this opportunity in the midst of our national representatives to express to our Allies our cordial gratitude for their active assistance.

Our close union is valuable in another and equally important direction, and its scope was enlarged the other day by the new financial and economic *entente*, the part to be played by which in the solution of our future complicated problems will not escape you. It arises from this *entente* that Russia and her Allies have organized their struggle against Germany in conformity with their definite decision to conduct it to a successful end.

The Orange Book recently published proved that the events on the Bosphorus which preceded the war with Turkey were the result of German treachery towards the Ottoman

Empire, which invited German instructors and the mission of General Liman von Sanders, hoping to perfect its Army with the object of assuring its independence against the Russian danger insinuated by Berlin. Germany, however, took advantage of this penetration into the Turkish Army to make that Army a weapon in realizing her political plans.

All the acts of the Turks since the appearance of the *Goeben* in the Dardanelles had been committed under the pressure of Germany, but the efforts of the Turks to evade responsibility for these acts could not prevent them from falling into the abyss into which they were rolling. The events on the Russo-Turkish frontier, while covering Russian arms with fresh glory, will bring Russia nearer to the realization of the political and economic problems bound up with the question of Russia's access to the open sea.

The Russian Government disinterestedly endeavoured to alleviate the lot of the Armenians, and the Russo-Turkish agreement of January 26, 1914, is a historical document, in which Turkey recognizes the privileged position of Russia in the Armenian question. When the war ends this exclusive position of Russia will be employed by the Imperial Government in a direction favourable to the Armenian population. Having drawn the sword in the defence of Servia, Russia is acting under the influence of her sentiments towards a sister nation, whose grandeur of soul in the present war has riveted the two countries as by bonds of steel.

The Russian nation looks with satisfaction on the gallantry of Montenegro in fighting as she is doing in the common cause. The relations of Russia with Greece, the tried friend of Servia, are perfectly cordial, and the tendency of the Hellenic people to put an end to the sufferings of their co-religionists groaning under the Ottoman yoke has the entire sympathy of the Imperial Government.

So, too, the relations between Russia and Roumania retain the friendly character which they acquired on the occasion of the visit of the Emperor to Constanza. The constant Russophile demonstrations in Bucharest and throughout the whole country during the autumn has brought into relief the hostile feelings of the Roumanians towards Austria-Hungary.

You are probably waiting, gentlemen, for a reply to a question which interests the whole world, viz., the attitude of those non-combatant countries whose interests counsel them

to embrace the cause of Russia and that of her Allies. In effect, public opinion in these countries, responsive to all that is meant by the national ideal, has long since pronounced itself in this sense, but you will understand that I cannot go into this question very profoundly, seeing that the Governments of these countries with which we enjoy friendly relations have not yet taken a definitive decision.

Now, it is for them to arrive at this decision, for they alone will be responsible to their respective nations if they miss a favourable opportunity to realize their national aspirations. I am constrained to mention with sincere gratitude the services rendered to us by Italy and Spain in protecting our compatriots in enemy countries. I must also emphasize the care lavished by Sweden on Russian travellers who were the victims of German brutality. I hope that this fact will strengthen the relations of good neighbourliness between Russia and Sweden, which we desire to see still more cordial than they are.

Before the war with Turkey we succeeded in putting an end to the secular Turco-Prussian quarrel by means of the delimitation of the Persian Gulf and Mount Ararat region, thanks to which we preserved for Persia a disputed territory with an area of almost twenty thousand square versts, part of which the Turks had invaded. Since the war the Persian Government has declared its neutrality, but this has not prevented Germany, Austria, and Turkey from carrying on a propaganda with the object of gaining Persian sympathies. These intrigues have been particularly intense in Azerbaijan, where the Turks succeeded in attracting to their side some of the Kurds in that country. Afterwards Ottoman troops, violating Persian neutrality, crossed the Persian frontier, and, supported by Kurdish bands, penetrated the districts where our detachments were in cantonments, and transformed Azerbaijan into a part of the Russo-Turkish theatre of war.

In passing let me say that the presence of our troops in Persia is in no way a violation of neutrality, for they were sent there some years ago with the object of maintaining order in our frontier territory and preventing its invasion by the Turks, who wished to establish there an advantageous base of action against the Caucasus. The Persian Government, powerless to take effective action against this aggression, protested, but without success. I am glad to say that Anglo-Russian relations in regard to Persian affairs are more than

ever based on mutual and sincere confidence and co-operation, which are a guarantee of the pacific settlement of any eventual conflict.

Turning our eyes to the Far East, the agreements signed in 1907 and 1910 with Japan have borne fruit during the present war, for Japan is with us. She has driven the Germans from the Pacific Ocean and has seized the German base of Kiao-chau. Although Japan did not sign the Agreement of August 23, yet, since the Anglo-Japanese Alliance contains an understanding that a separate peace shall not be concluded, therefore the German Government cannot hope for peace with Japan before she has concluded peace with Great Britain, Russia, and France. Consequently our relations with Japan give us a firm friend.

The demands addressed by Japan to China contain nothing contrary to our interests. As for Russo-Chinese interests, I can state their constant improvement. The pourparlers in regard to Mongolia, though slow, are friendly, and I hope to be able to announce to you shortly their happy conclusion and the signature of a triple Russo-Chinese-Mongolian treaty which, while safeguarding the interests of Russia, will not injure those of China.

RT. HON. F. E. SMITH

[Speech at a great public meeting held in the London Opera House on September 11, 1914.]

10 MR. CHAIRMAN, MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN :—I rise to second the resolution which has been so eloquently put before this meeting, and which symbolizes an Empire united to-day as it has never been united before, because we have a profound conviction that in engaging in this great war we are in the right. [Cheers.] The causes and justifications of the war are three-fold. I put the obligations of this country in the first place on our plighted word. [Cheers.] In dealing with Europe and with the world, it has always been one of our most priceless possessions that the word of England was the bond of England. [Cheers.] If, when we were invited to become parties to a treaty, which affected the very existence of a small and harmless State like Belgium, it meant nothing, why were we and other nations asked to set our hands to it? We were asked to set our hands to it because, with all the honour and responsibility of a great nation, we certified to that small State that never should her neutrality be violated, and never should she be exposed to the ravages and horrors of war—[cheers]—because it was felt by the statesmen of those days that the international security of the neutrality of Belgium would be likely to discourage aggressive schemes which were conjectured even then, and were perfectly realized to-day. One of those great nations, who were equally bound in honour with ourselves to insure that the integrity of Belgium should be preserved inviolate, has now torn up the instrument of which, equally with ourselves, they were the inspirers and guarantors. The defence put forward by the German Chancellor for this grave breach of international obligation that after all this treaty was only a scrap of paper was, to say the least, a little inadequate. [Hear, hear.] We were told in effect that the most solemn international obligation of honour might be broken if a powerful nation thought that they might

derive some advantage from the breach of it. What is to be said to that small and valiant, but most deeply wounded nation which, relying on this scrap of paper, paid but little attention to the formation of a military machine at all comparable in scale or efficiency to the great conscript armies of the modern world? That small nation believed that when the Powers of Europe entered into a solemn guarantee they meant what they said, and that the maintenance of their integrity so guaranteed would not be made an excuse for the barbarities which have now disgraced civilization. [Cheers.]

With a valour that will never be forgotten while the deeds of brave men are written about in the annals of warfare, and under every conceivable discouragement, feeling bitterly that they were not receiving the succour and sustenance to which they thought they were entitled from their Allies, the Belgians valiantly played their part and maintained a quarrel into which they had no desire to enter, and it is a paramount obligation in which the honour of this country is involved that, as far as is humanly possible, they should be put back in the position which they occupied before the war. [Cheers.] When the British forces are reinforced, as they will be reinforced in the future, I trust that they may be privileged in soldierly fashion to avenge themselves on those who have done these dire wrongs to Belgium. [Cheers.]

The second justification of the war is that our very existence as an Imperial Power depended on our participation in this war. [Cheers.] Not content with an Army which numerically overwhelmed every sort of professional soldier that we could immediately put into the field, during the past six years Germany has been building up a powerful Navy with the sole object, at the proper moment, of challenging the naval supremacy of this country. We could allow challenges in the military field, but we never have allowed, and we never can allow, challenges in the naval field. [Cheers.] From the moment that it became clear that it was the desperate and calculated object of German policy to challenge the supremacy of the British Navy the issue was bound to come. [Cheers.] Germany thought that we were a decadent nation and that at the convenient moment we ought to give way to the great apostles of culture. [Laughter.] If they had not believed that, how could they have made the dishonourable proposal that we should stand by while Belgium perished, and while innocent and unaggressive France was robbed of her Colonies

and her Navy by the aggressive military bureaucracy of Berlin?

37 To their eternal honour his Majesty's Government would not agree to this shameful proposal, and in their action they had the unswerving support of every member of the Unionist Party. [Cheers.] The thorough justification of the struggle in which we are engaged is that we are fighting for the very existence of international law, which has wrested a precious fragment of humanity from the cruel savagery of war. We are fighting to maintain the prescriptive claim of civilization to assert the sanctity of the plighted word and to assign limits to a barbarous and irrational system. This war is going to end either when we break that system or when it breaks us.

The terms of peace will be arranged either in London or Berlin, and on the whole I think they will be arranged in Berlin. [Cheers.] Finding ourselves engaged in this war on a voluntary basis, without having made any inquiry into the advantages or disadvantages of universal military service, I hope that we shall go through the war as a volunteer nation, and so afford our German critics the extreme proof of our national decadence—[laughter]—and convince the world that a proud nation may ardently love peace and yet be fit for war. [Cheers.]

RT. HON. SIR EDWARD GREY

[Speech delivered in the Bechstein Hall, London,
on March 22, 1914.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—The occasion of our meeting this afternoon is to hear a lecture from my friend Mr. Buchan on the strategy of the war, and he is sure to make it informing and interesting. His friends know him as a man of fine public spirit and patriotism, in whom a crisis such as this in his country's history arouses the noblest feelings. I am sorry that an engagement makes it necessary for me to return soon to the Foreign Office, and therefore it will be a great disappointment to me not to hear the whole of the lecture. I should like to take the opportunity to make my apology now, and also to make one or two remarks on the origin and issues of the war. [Hear, hear.] We are engaged in considering the particular methods by which the war may be prosecuted to a successful conclusion, but do not let us lose sight even for a moment of the character and origin of this war and of the main issues for which we are fighting. Hundreds of millions of money have been spent, hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost, and millions have been maimed and wounded in Europe during the last few months. All this might have been avoided by the simple method of a conference or a joint discussion between the Powers concerned, which might have been held in London, at The Hague, or wherever and in whatever form Germany would have consented to have it. It would have been far easier to have settled by conference the dispute between Austria-Hungary and Servia, which Germany made the occasion for this war, than it was to get successfully through the Balkan crisis of two years ago. Germany knew from her experience of the conference in London which settled the Balkan crisis that she could count upon our good will for peace in any conference of the Powers. We had sought no diplomatic triumph in the Balkan Conference ; we did not give ourselves to any intrigue ; we pursued, impartially

and honourably, the end of peace, and we were ready last July to do the same again.

In recent years we have given Germany every assurance that no aggression upon her would receive any support from us. We withheld from her one thing only—we would not give an unconditional promise to stand aside, however aggressive Germany herself might be to her neighbours. [Cheers.] Last July, before the outbreak of war, France was ready to accept a conference; Italy was ready to accept a conference; Russia was ready to accept a conference; and we know now that after the British proposal for a conference was made, the Emperor of Russia himself proposed to the German Emperor that the dispute should be referred to The Hague. Germany alone refused every suggestion made to her for settling the dispute in this way. On her rests now, and must rest for all time, the appalling responsibility for having plunged Europe into this war and for having involved herself and the greater part of the Continent in the consequences of it.

We know now that the German Government had prepared for war as only people who plan can prepare. This is the fourth time within living memory that Prussia has made war in Europe. In the Schleswig-Holstein war, in the war against Austria in 1866, in the war against France in 1870, as we now know from all the documents that have been revealed, it was Prussia who planned and prepared these wars. The same thing has occurred again, and we are determined that it shall be the last time that war shall be made in this way. [Cheers.]

We had assured Belgium that never would we violate her neutrality so long as it was respected by others. I had given this pledge to Belgium long before the war. On the eve of the war we asked France and Germany to give the same pledge. France at once did so. Germany declined to give it. When, after that, Germany invaded Belgium, we were bound to oppose Germany with all our strength, and if we had not done so at the first moment is there any one who now believes that when Germany attacked the Belgians, when she shot down combatants and non-combatants in a way that violated all the rules of war of recent times and the laws of humanity of all time—is there any one who thinks it possible now that we could have sat still and looked on without eternal disgrace? [Cheers.]

Now what are the issues for which we are fighting? In

due time the terms of peace will be put forward by our Allies in concert with us—in accordance with the alliance that exists between us—and published to the world. One essential condition must be the restoration to Belgium of her independence, national life, and free possession of her territory—[cheers]—and reparation to her as far as reparation is possible for the cruel wrong done to her. [Cheers.] That is part of the great issue for which we, with our Allies, are contending, and the great part of the issue is this: We wish the nations of Europe to be free to live their independent lives, working out their own form of government for themselves, and their own national development, whether they be great nations or small states, in full liberty. This is our ideal. The German ideal—we have had it poured out by German professors and publicists since the war began—is that of the Germans as a superior people, to whom all things are lawful in the securing of their own power, against whom resistance of any sort is unlawful—a people establishing a domination over the nations of the Continent, imposing a peace which is not to be liberty for every nation but subservience to Germany. I would rather perish or leave the Continent altogether than live in it under such conditions. [Cheers.]

After this war we and the other nations of Europe must be free to live, not menaced continually by talk of “supreme war lords,” and “shining armour,” and the sword continually “rattled in the scabbard,” and Heaven continually invoked as the accomplice of Germany, and not having our policy dictated and our national destinies and activities controlled by the military caste of Prussia. [Cheers.] We claim for ourselves and our Allies claim for themselves, and together we will secure for Europe, the right of independent sovereignty for the different nations, the right to pursue a national existence, not in the shadow of Prussian hegemony and supremacy, but in the light of equal liberty. [Cheers.]

All honour for ever be given from us whom age and circumstances have kept at home to those who have voluntarily come forward to risk their lives, and give their lives on the field of battle on land or on sea. They have their reward in enduring fame and honour. And all honour be given from us to the brave armies and navies of our Allies, who have exhibited such splendid courage and noble patriotism. The admiration they have aroused, and their comradeship in arms, will be an ennobling and enduring memory between us, cement-

ing friendships and perpetuating national good will. For all of us who are serving the State at home, or in whatever capacity, whether officials, or employers, or wage-earners, doing our utmost to carry on the national life in this time of stress, there is the knowledge that there can be no nobler opportunity than that of serving one's country when its existence is at stake, and when the cause is just and right; and never was there a time in our national history when the crisis was so great and so imperative, or the cause more just and right. [Loud cheers.]

RT. HON. LEWIS HARCOURT

[Speech at a public meeting organized by the Victoria League, and held in King George's Hall, London, Central Y.M.C.A., on January 26, 1915.]

MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—It is a special privilege to me to be permitted to take the chair on this occasion, for it gives me an opportunity of paying my tribute of esteem and admiration to the splendid, assiduous, and unending work of the Victoria League. Long before I held my present post I was aware of the League's beneficent activities, but during the four years and more that I have been at the Colonial Office, I have come to realize the special value of its services and to feel an abiding gratitude for their results. [Cheers.]

Year by year an ever-increasing stream set to these shores of those whom one might call, with official correctitude, "visitors from the Dominions," but who, often with affectionate modesty, style themselves "home-coming Colonials." [Hear, hear.] Many of them were born in the Dominions and have never been in England in their lives, but nevertheless they all talk of their visit to a strange land as "coming home." [Cheers.] It is the open-handed and warm-hearted welcome of the workers of the Victoria League which, in many cases, more than anything else made England a veritable home to those Dominion brothers and sisters whom we are so proud to see. It is that touch of Nature which made the Empire kin. [Hear, hear.]

We are met on this occasion to acknowledge with deep gratitude the debt we owe to every corner—even the remotest—of that Empire for the unexampled response to the needs of the Motherland. [Cheers.] There is no sacrifice of men, of money, of material which seemed too great for those of our blood who are wide flung throughout the world. And not of our blood or colour only. [Cheers.] There have been ill-informed, blind, misguided fools who thought that when England was at war India would be in mutiny. They were wrong. [Cheers.] But

they might have been right if we had mistrusted our Indian fellow-subjects, for I have been told there would have been a mutiny if we had not permitted our Indian troops to fight with us in the trenches. [Laughter and cheers.]

Nobody surely could have read without emotion that noble and touching despatch from the Viceroy, in which he described how the Rajahs and Rulers of the native States placed at our disposal their treasure and their trust. Men, horses, guns, motors, ambulances: all the paraphernalia of modern war had for months crossed the Indian Ocean in a steady stream, without mishap and in perfect security under the convoy of our Navy, and to-day our Indian troops are making for themselves an imperishable record on the battle-fields of France and Flanders. [Cheers.]

Then look at the great efforts of our self-governing Dominions. Two days before war was declared Canada offered an expeditionary force, and two days after the declaration of war I accepted it on behalf of the Government and the nation. [Hear, hear.] It is with us to-day, manned, equipped, paid by the Dominion itself, and with reinforcements ready to follow, as and when they are required. It is an open secret that some of the Canadian troops are already at the front; it is no secret that the rest of them are straining at the leash to get there—and if I might venture a prophecy, their period of probation will not be much further prolonged. [Hear, hear.] They have not had a comfortable time—[hear, hear, and laughter]—the transition has not been pleasant from “Our Lady of the Snows” to “Our Mother of the Mud”—[laughter]—but coming events cast their quagmires before. Not even an English winter—almost the wettest on record—has broken their spirit, and no one who knows them can doubt that they will do credit to the name and the fame of the Maple Leaf. [Cheers.] They were accompanied by a military contingent from Newfoundland, which has supplied also a large number of Naval Reservists and volunteers drawn from their intrepid and enduring fishermen. [Hear, hear.]

From the Antipodes have come to our aid equally great forces. The day before the war I received a telegram putting the Australian Navy at our disposal and under our orders, and at the same time offering a contingent of 20,000 men for European service, with equipment and constant reinforcements, which I accepted three days later. The *New Zealand* battleship is already with our Fleet—[cheers]—and the rest

of their fleet was under our control before war was declared. A New Zealand military force was at once offered, accepted, and mobilized—and even the Maoris insisted on sharing the white man's burden. [Hear, hear.] A Ceylon contingent is also in Egypt, and a Fiji force is now on its way home. [Hear, hear.]

There remains one other Dominion—South Africa. [Cheers.] I have seen some ill-conditioned and ignorant comments on the fact that South Africa has sent no troops to Europe. These things are the carplings of fools—[cheers]—who have not read and are not fit to write history. I should be the last to make comparisons of the value of Dominion services, but this I will say, that none have been or could be greater than that rendered by the Union of South Africa. [Loud cheers.] General Botha has undertaken, for reasons of Imperial importance, to attack, to capture, and to occupy German South-West Africa. [Hear, hear.] The Imperial Government knew then and know now that he can do so, but they know also that it will be no light task. The Africander is proud of the unstinted trust which has been reposed in him by the British people since their war; they know what freedom and self-government mean and from whom they have sprung. The minority of rebels are shaming their fellows and defaming their honour. They are being dealt with by their own leader and by men of their own race, and the sordid chapter of sorry treachery closed, I hope, with the capture or surrender of its deluded dupes. [Cheers.] The British people can trust the Government of the Union of South Africa to exercise in their own discretion such punishment or clemency as seems fit to them with their knowledge of the local situation, and we and they may turn now with hope and confidence to the larger undertaking of the reduction of the neighbouring German Colony. [Hear, hear.]

I need hardly remind you that India and the self-governing Dominions are only a part of the British Empire. There remain the whole of the Colonies and Protectorates in which I take a special interest, for they are more individually under the personal control of the Colonial Secretary. I have been "snowed under" by day and by night ever since August 4 with contributions almost embarrassing in their variety and amount, but always splendid in their spirit and intention. [Hear, hear.] From the remotest islands of the Caribbees or the Pacific my none too frequent rest has been broken with telegrams proffering—pressing on me—men, money, goods, pro-

duce, volunteers, even aeroplanes. The catalogue is so extensive that it is impossible to recapitulate. Nor must I omit the Falkland Islands, who have contributed a sum of money amounting to £2 per head of the entire population—[cheers]—at a moment when they were in imminent danger of capture by German cruisers.

With the capture of Togoland, where the Germans had the largest wireless telegraph station in the world, in direct communication with Berlin; the Cameroons expedition, which is still in progress, although more than half the business is already done; and the operations against German East Africa, which have proved—as it was always expected that it would—a tough proposition;—if you could see my daily and nightly sheaves of telegrams, the despatches, the letters from the tropical firing-line, you would live, as I have done for six months, in the thrills and the romance of thinly defended frontiers, of gallantly captured posts, of conquest and reverse, of strategy and organization. And from what, think you, does all this unity of purpose, of action, and of sentiment spring? From the genius of the British race for self-government and good government. [Hear, hear.] We have given freely, proudly, the most complete autonomy to our great White Dominions, and we have reaped a rich harvest. Canada in the past, South Africa in the present, are witnesses to the fact that confidence is its own reward. [Hear, hear.] But in those great tropical territories, where autonomy was not yet advisable or possible, we have endeavoured—and with success—to govern by and through and with the sentiments and customs of the inhabitants. [Hear, hear.] A wide tolerance, with no too emphatic insistence on “culture”—[laughter and cheers]—has created a cosmopolitan confidence which has proved in action a good substitute for the subservience of militarism. [Cheers.]

RUDYARD KIPLING

[Speech at the Mansion House, London, on January 27, 1915.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—I am greatly honoured by the Lord Mayor's request to speak before you. The most useful thing that a civilian can do in these busy days is to speak as little as possible, and, if he feels moved to write, to confine his efforts to his cheque-book. [Laughter.] But this is an exception to that very good rule.

We do not know the present strength of our New Armies. Even if we did it would not be necessary to make it public. We may assume that there are now several battalions in Great Britain which did not exist at the end of last July, and some of these battalions are in London. Nor is it any part of our national scheme of things to explain how far they are prepared for the work ahead of them. They were quite rightly born in silence, but that is no reason why they should walk in silence for the rest of their lives. At present, unfortunately, most of them *are* obliged to walk in silence, or to no better accompaniment than whistles, concertinas, and other meritorious but inadequate instruments of music which they provide for themselves.

In the beginning this did not matter so much. There were more urgent needs to be met ; but now that the New Armies are what they are, we, who cannot assist them by joining their ranks, owe it to them to provide them with more worthy music for their help, and comfort, and honour. I am not a musician, so if I speak as a barbarian, forgive me.

From the lowest point of view, a few drums and fifes in a battalion are worth five extra miles on a route-march—quite apart from the fact that they swing the battalion back to quarters composed and happy in its mind—no matter how wet and tired its body may be. And even where there is no route-marching, the mere come-and-go, the roll and flourish of the drums and fifes round barracks is as warming and cheering as the sight of a fire in a room.

Or a band—not necessarily a full band, but a band of a few brasses and wood winds—is immensely valuable in districts where troops are billeted. It revives memories ; it quickens associations ; it opens and unites the hearts of men more surely than any other appeal. In that respect it assists recruiting perhaps more than any other agency. The tunes that it employs and the words that go with them may seem very far removed from heroism or devotion ; but the magic and the compelling power are there to make men's souls realize certain truths which their minds might doubt.

More than that. No one—not even the adjutant—can say for certain where the soul of a battalion lives ; but the expression of that soul is most often found in the Band. It stands to reason that a body of 1,200 men whose lives are pledged to each other's keeping must have some common means of expressing their thoughts and moods to themselves and to their world. The Band can feel the mood and interpret the thought.

A wise and sympathetic bandmaster—and most that I have known have been that—can lift a battalion out of depression, cheer its sickness, and steady and recall it to itself in times of almost unendurable strain. You will remember a beautiful poem by Sir Henry Newbolt describing how a squadron of "weary big dragoons" were led on to renewed effort by the strains of a penny whistle and a child's drum taken from a toy-shop of a wrecked French town. And I remember in a cholera camp in India, where the men were suffering very badly, the Band of the 10th Lincolns started a regimental sing-song one night with that queer defiant tune, "The Lincolnshire Poacher." You know the words. It was merely their regimental march, which the men had heard a thousand times. There was nothing in it except—except all England—all the East Coast—all the fun and daring and horseplay of young men bucketing about the big pastures by moonlight. But, as it was given, very softly, at that bad time in that terrible camp of death, it was the one thing in the world which could have restored—as it did—shaken men to pride, humour, and self-control. This is, perhaps, an extreme case, but by no means an exceptional one. A man who has had any experience of the Service can testify that a battalion is better for music at every turn—happier, easier to handle, and with greater zest for its daily routine, if that routine is sweetened by melody and rhythm—melody for the mind and rhythm for the body.

Our new Armies, as we know, have not been well served in this essential. Of all the admirable qualities they have shown, none is more wonderful than the spirit which has carried them through the laborious and distasteful groundwork of their calling without a note of music except what that same indomitable spirit supplied—out of its own head. We have all seen them marching through the country or through London streets in absolute silence, and the crowd through which they pass as silent as themselves for lack of the one medium that could convey and glorify the thoughts which are in all men's minds to-day.

We are a tongue-tied breed at the best. The Band can declare on our behalf, without shame or shyness, something of what we feel, and so help us to reach a hand towards the men who have risen up to save us.

In the beginning, as I have said, the elementary needs of the Armies overrode every other consideration; but now we can get to work on other essentials. The War Office has authorized the formation of bands for some of the London Battalions, and we may hope to see that permission presently extended throughout Great Britain. Of course, we must not cherish unbridled musical ambitions, because a full band means forty pieces, and on that establishment we should require even now a very large number of bandsmen. But I think it might be possible to provide drums and fifes for every battalion, full bands at depôts, and a proportion of battalion bands at half or even one-third establishment. But this is not a matter to be settled by laymen. It must be seriously discussed between bandsmen and musicians—present, past, and dug up—who may be trusted to give their services with enthusiasm.

We have had many proofs in the last six months that people only want to be told what the new Armies require, and it will be freely and gladly given. The Army needs music—its own music, for, more than any calling, soldiers do not live by bread alone. [Cheers.] From time immemorial the man who offers his life for his land has been compassed at every turn of his services by elaborate ceremonial and observance, of which music is no small part—carefully designed to prepare and uphold him. It is not expedient nor seemly that any portion of that ritual should be slurred or omitted now. [Prolonged cheers.]

RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

[Speech at a great meeting organized by the Constitutional Club and the National Liberal Club, and held in the London Opera House, September 11, 1914.]

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN :—The resolution which I have been asked to move is written on the papers in your hands, but I think it worth while to read it to you.

That this meeting of the citizens of London, profoundly believing that we are fighting in a just cause, for the vindication of the rights of small States and the public law of Europe, pledges itself unswervingly to support the Prime Minister's appeal to the nation, and all measures necessary for the prosecution of the war to a victorious conclusion, whereby alone the lasting peace of Europe can be assured.

These are serious times, and though we meet here in an abode which is one of diversion and of pleasure in times of peace, and although we wish and mean to arouse and encourage each other in every way, yet we are not here for the purpose of merriment or jollification, and I am quite sure I associate my two friends who are here to-night, and who will speak after me, and my noble friend your chairman, with me when I say that we regard the cheers with which you have received us as being offered to us only because they are meant for our soldiers in the field and our sailors on the sea. It is in that sense that we accept them, and thank you for them. We meet here together in serious times, but I come to you to-night in good heart and with good confidence for the future and for the task upon which we are engaged. [Cheers.] It is too soon to speculate upon the results of the great battle which is waging in France. Everything that we have heard during four long days of anxiety seems to point to a marked and substantial turning of the tide. [Cheers.]

We have seen the forces of the French and British Armies strong enough not only to contain and check the devastating

avalanche which had swept across the French frontier, but now at last, not for an hour or for a day, but for four long days in succession, it has been rolled steadily back. [Loud cheers.] With battles taking place over a front of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles one must be very careful not to build high hopes of results which are achieved, even in a great area of the field of war. We are not children looking for light and vain encouragement, but men engaged upon a task which has got to be put through. Still, when every allowance has been made for the uncertainty in which these great operations are always enshrouded, I think it is only fair and right to say that the situation to-night is better, far better, than a cold calculation of the forces available on both sides before the war should have led us to expect at this early stage. [Cheers.]

It is quite clear that what is happening is not what the Germans planned—and they have yet to show that they can adapt themselves to the force of circumstances created by the military power of their enemies with the same efficiency that they have undoubtedly shown with regard to plans long prepared, methodically worked out, and executed with precision and deliberation. The battle, I say, gives us every reason to meet together to-night in good heart, but let me tell you frankly that if this battle had been as disastrous as, thank God, it appears to be triumphant, I should come before you here to-night with unabated confidence—[cheers]—and with the certainty that we have only to continue in our efforts to bring this war to the conclusion which we wish and intend. [Cheers.]

We entered upon this war with no desire to extend our territories or to advance and increase our position in the world, or in no romantic desire to shed our blood and spend our money in Continental quarrels. We entered this war reluctantly, after we had made every effort compatible with honour to avoid being drawn in, and we entered it with a full realization of the suffering, of the loss, of the disappointment, of the vexation, of the anxiety, and of the prolonged and sustained exertion which would be entailed upon us by our action. The war will be long and sombre; it will have many reverses of fortune and many hopes falsified by subsequent events, and we must derive from our cause, and from the strength that is in us, and from the traditions and history of our race, and from the spirit and aid of our Empire all

over the world—[cheers]—the means to take our British plough over obstacles of all kinds, and continue to the end of the furrow, whatever the toil and suffering may be.

But though we entered on this war with no illusions as to the incidents which will mark its progress, as to the ebb and flow of fighting in this or that part of the gigantic field over which it is waged, we entered it, and entered it rightly, with a sure and sober hope and expectation of bringing it to a victorious conclusion. [Cheers.] I am quite certain that if you choose, if we, the peoples of the British Empire, choose, whatever may happen in the interval, we can in the end make this war finish in accordance with our interests and the interests of civilization. [Cheers.] Let us build on a sure foundation. Let us not be the sport of fortune, looking for victories and happy chances there. Let us take measures which are well within our power, which are practical measures, measures which we can begin upon at once and carry through from day to day with surety and effect. Let us enter on measures which in the long run, whatever the accidents and incidents of the intervening period may be, will secure us that victory on which our life and existence as a nation, not less than the fortunes of our Allies and of Europe, absolutely depend. [Cheers.] I think we are building on a sure foundation. [Cheers.]

Let us look first of all at the Navy. [Loud cheers.] The war has now been in progress between five and six weeks. In that time we have swept German commerce from the sea. We have either blocked in neutral harbours or blockaded in their own harbours, or hunted down on blue water the commerce destroyers of which we used to hear so much and from which we anticipated such serious loss and damage. All our ships with inconsiderable exceptions, a few out of thousands, are arriving safely and punctually at their destinations—[cheers]—carrying on the commerce on which the wealth, the industries, and the power of making war of this country depend. [Cheers.] We are transporting easily, not without an element of danger, but still hitherto safely and successfully, great numbers of men, great numbers of soldiers across the seas from all quarters of the world, to be directed on the decisive theatre of the land struggle. We have searched the so-called German Ocean—[laughter]—without discovering the German flag. [Laughter and cheers.] Our enemies, in their carefully worked-out calculations, which they have been toiling over during a great

many years when the people of this country as a whole credited them with quite different motives, our enemies in their careful calculations have always built on a process of attrition, have always counted on a process of attrition—the waste of ships by mine and torpedo and other methods of the warfare of the weaker Power, by which the numbers and strength of our Fleet would be reduced to such a point that they would be able to steel their hearts and come out and fight. [Laughter.] Well, we have been at war for five or six weeks, and so far, though I would certainly not underrate the risks and hazards attendant on warlike operations and the vanity of all over-confidence, so far the attrition has been on their side and not on ours, and the losses which they have suffered have greatly exceeded any which we have at present sustained.

I have made careful inquiries as to the condition of our sailors afloat under the strain put on them by this continued watching and constant attention to their duty under warlike conditions, and I am glad to say that it is reported to me that the health of the Fleet has been much better since the declaration of war than it was in times of peace, that the percentage of sickness and the character of the sickness have been more favourable, that there is no reason why we should not keep up the same process of naval freedom and of the same exercise of sea power as that on which we have lived and are living for what is almost an indefinite period. [Cheers.] By one of those dispensations of Providence which appeal so strongly to the German Emperor, the nose of the bulldog has been slanted backwards, so that he can breathe with comfort without letting go. If we have been successful in maintaining naval control thus far in the struggle, there are also sound reasons for believing as it progresses the chances in our favour will not diminish but increase. In the next twelve months the number of great ships which will be completed for this country is more than double the number that will be completed for Germany and the number of cruisers three or four times as great. [Cheers.] Therefore I think I am on solid ground when I come here to-night and say that you may count upon the naval supremacy of this country being effectively maintained as against the German power or as long as you wish. [Cheers.]

And now we must look at the Army. [Cheers.] The Navy has been, under every Government and throughout all periods of modern history, the darling of the British nation.

On it have been lavished whatever public funds were necessary, and to its efficiency has been devoted the unceasing care and thought of successive Administrations. The result is that when the need came the Navy was absolutely ready—[cheers]—and, as far as we can see from what has happened, thoroughly adequate to the tasks which were required from it. But we have not been in times of peace a military nation. The Army has not had the facility of obtaining the lavish supplies of men and money for its needs which have, in times of peace, and in the past, to our good fortune at the moment, been so freely given to the Navy. And what you have to do now is to make a great Army—[cheers]—and to make an Army under the cover and shield of the Navy strong enough to enable our country to play its full part in the decision of this terrible struggle. The sure way, the only sure way, to bring this war to an end is for the British Empire to put on the Continent and keep on the Continent an Army of at least one million men. [Cheers.] I take that figure because it is one well within the compass of the arrangements which are now on foot, and because it is one which is well within the scope of the measures which Lord Kitchener—[cheers]—has already planned.

I was reading in the newspapers the other day that the German Emperor made a speech to some of his regiments in which he urged them to concentrate their attention upon what he was pleased to call “French’s contemptible little Army.” Well, they are concentrating their attention upon it. That Army which has been fighting with such extraordinary prowess, and which has revived in a fortnight of adverse actions the ancient fame and glory of our Armies upon the Continent—[cheers]—and which to-night, after a long, protracted, harassed, but unbroken and undaunted rearguard action—the hardest trial to which troops can be exposed—is advancing in spite of the loss of one-fifth of its number, and driving its enemies before it—[loud cheers]—that Army must be reinforced and backed and supported, and increased and enlarged in numbers and in power by every means and every method that everyone of us can take. [Cheers.]

I am not here to make a speech of words, but to point out to you necessary and obvious things you can do. There is no doubt that, if you set yourselves to it, that Army which is now fighting so valiantly on our behalf, and on that of our Allies, can be raised successively from its present figure to a quarter of a million of the finest professional soldiers in the

world, and from that in the New Year to something like half a million of men, and from that again, when the early summer begins in 1915 to the full figure of 25 Army Corps, fighting in the line together. The vast population of these islands and the Empire is pressing forward to serve. The wealth of the whole of Britain and her Colonies is available. The Navy opens the sea routes to you, and every commodity needed for the preparation of war material or for the equipment of fighting men can be drawn from the uttermost ends of the earth. Why should we hesitate? Here is a sure and certain power of ending this war in the way we mean it to end. [Cheers.] There is little doubt that an army so formed will, in quality and in character, in native energy, and in the comprehension which each individual in it has of the cause for which he is fighting, exceed in merit any army in the world. And it has only to have a chance with even numbers, or anything approaching even numbers—[cheers]—to demonstrate the superiority of free-thinking, active citizens over the docile sheep who serve the ferocious ambitions of despotic Kings. [Cheers.] Our enemies are, at the point which we have now reached, fully extended. On every front of the enormous field of conflict the pressure upon them is such that all their resources are deployed. With every addition to the growing weight of the Russian attack—[cheers]—with every addition to the forces at the disposal of Sir John French, the balance must set down increasingly against them. You have only to create steadily, week after week, and month after month, the great military instruments of which I have been speaking, to throw into the scales a weight which must be decisive.

There will be no corresponding reserve of manhood upon which Germany can draw; there will be no corresponding force of soldiers and of equipment and of war material which can be brought into line to face the forces which we in this island and in this Empire can undoubtedly create and which will turn the scale and eventually decide the issue. Of course, if victory comes sooner, so much the better. [Cheers.] But let us not count on fortune and good luck. Let us assume at every point that things will go much less well than we hope and wish. Let us make arrangements which will override that. [Cheers.] We have it in our power to make such arrangements, and it is only common prudence, aye, and common humanity to take the steps which at any rate will fix some certain term to this devastating struggle throughout

the whole of the European Continent. Let me also say this. Let us concentrate all our warlike feeling on fighting the enemy in the field, upon creating a great military weapon with which to carry out the purposes of the war.

There is a certain class of person who likes to work his warlike feelings off upon the unfortunate alien enemy within our gates, and, of course, all necessary measures should be taken for the security of the country and for the proper carrying out of military needs; but let us always have this feeling in our hearts that after the war is over people shall not only admire our victory, but shall say of us: "They have fought like gentlemen." [Cheers.] The Romans had a motto: *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, "Spare the conquered and war down the proud." Let that be the spirit in which we conduct this war. Let all those who feel under the provocations of this horrible struggle their hearts suffused with anger and with ruth, let them turn it into a practical channel and go to the front, or, if circumstances prevent them, let them help others to go, keeping them maintained in the highest state of efficiency and looking after those they have left behind. [Cheers.]

I have not spoken too much about the justice of our cause, because it has been most eloquently set out by the Prime Minister and Sir Edward Grey, and by Mr. Bonar Law and the other leaders of the Opposition. And much more eloquently than by any speakers in this or any other country the justice of our cause has been set out by the brutal facts which have occurred and which have marched on us from day to day.

Some thought there would be a German war and some did not, but no one supposed that a great military nation would exhibit all the vices of a military organization without those redeeming virtues which, God knows, are needed to relieve warlike operations from the taint of shame. But we have been confronted with an exhibition of ruthlessness and outrage enforced on the weak, enforced on defenceless women and children. ["Shame."] We have been confronted with repeated breaches of the laws of honourable warfare, with practices analogous to those which, in private life, are regarded as cheating, which deprive the persons or the country adopting them or condoning them of the credit and respect due to honourable soldiers. We have been confronted with all this. Let us not imitate it. [Cheers.] Let us not try to make

small retaliations and reprisals here and there and think that because they have cast away the treasures not only of civilization, but of military honour, our responsibility for maintaining them has become less real or less effective. [Cheers.] Let us concentrate on the simple and obvious task of creating a military force so powerful that the war, in default of any other good fortune, can certainly be ended and brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

However the war began, now that it has started it is a war of self-preservation for us. [Cheers.] Our civilization, our way of doing things, our system of Parliamentary life, with its voting and its talking—[laughter]—our party system, our party warfares, the free and easy tolerances of English and of British life and existence, our method of doing things and of being ourselves, alive and self-respecting in the world—all these are brought up in violent contrast, in violent collision, with the organized force of bureaucratic Prussian militarism. [Cheers.]

That is the struggle which is open now, and which must go forward without pause or abatement until it is settled decisively and finally one way or the other. On that there can be no compromise or truce. It is our life or it is theirs. We are bound, having gone so far, to go forward without flinching until the very end. [Cheers.] This is the same war, the same great European War, that would have been fought in the year 1909 if Russia had not humbled herself and given way to German pressure. It is the same war that Sir E. Grey—[cheers]—stopped last year. And now it has come upon us. But if you look back across the long periods of European history to the original cause, you will, I am sure, find it in the cruel terms enforced upon France in 1870, and in the repeated attempts to terrorize France which have been the characteristic of German policy ever since.

The more you study this question the more you will see that the use the Germans made of their three aggressive and victorious wars, against Denmark, against Austria, and against France, has been such as to make them the terror and the bully of Europe, the enemy and the menace of every small State upon their borders, and a perpetual source of unrest and disquietude to their powerful neighbours. Now the war has come, and when it is over let us be careful not to make the same mistake or the same sort of mistake as Germany made when she had France prostrate at her feet in 1870. Let

us, whatever we do, fight for and work towards great and sound principles for the European system. The first of those principles which we should keep before us is the principle of nationality—[cheers]—that is to say, not the conquest or subjugation of any great community, or of any strong race of men, but the setting free of those races which have been subjugated and conquered. [Cheers.] And if doubt arises about disputed areas of country, we should try to settle their ultimate destination in the reconstruction of Europe which must follow from this war with a fair regard to the wishes and feelings of the people who live in them. [Cheers.]

That is the aim which, if it is achieved, will justify the exertions of the war, and will make some amend to the world for the loss and agony of suffering which it has wrought and entailed, and which will give to those who come after us, not only the pride we hope they will feel in remembering the martial achievements of the present age of Britain, but which will give them also a better and a fairer world to live in and a Europe free from the causes of hatred and unrest which have poisoned the comity of nations and ruptured the peace of Christendom.

"We are all together." I use these words because this is a war in which we are all together—all parties, all classes, all races, all States, principalities, dominions, and powers throughout the British Empire, we are all together. [Prolonged cheers.] Many years ago the elder Pitt urged on his countrymen the compulsive invocation: "Be one people." Well, it has taken us up till now to obey his appeal. But now we are one people—[cheers]—and while we remain one people there are no forces in the world strong enough to beat us down or break us up. [Cheers.] I hope, even in this dark hour of the struggle, that the unities which have been established in our country under the pressure of war will not cease and pass away when the great military effort on which we are engaged, and the great moral cause which we pursue, have been achieved; but I shall hope, and I do not think my hope is a vain one, that the forces which have come together in our land and throughout our Empire may continue to work together not only in the military struggle, but in trying to make our country a more equal, more happy, and more prosperous land, where social justice and free institutions are more firmly established than they have been in the past. [Cheers.] If so, we shall not

have fought in vain at home as well as abroad, and with these hopes and in these beliefs I will urge you to lay aside all hindrances, casting away all private aims, devoting yourselves unflinchingly and unswervingly to the rigorous and successful prosecution of the war. [Loud cheers.]

VISCOUNT HALDANE

[The following is the substance of a statement of Britain's case given by the Lord Chancellor in an interview with a prominent American Press Representative.]

WE ask you in America—all, whether for or against us, heirs of the early struggles of our race—to realize that when we say we are fighting for life we use no figure of speech. Hyperbole there is in plenty, of course; but this is not hyperbole. We are fighting for life, and we ask the forbearance of America while we prosecute the struggle. If we appear in a wholly new situation to go beyond some of the rules of the books we shall not violate the dictates of humanity, and shall not turn back the clock of civilization. We take it that our interest in ending the war quickly—ending it in the only way in which the Allies can afford to see it ended at all—is also the interest of the United States. Germany's submarine warfare on belligerents and neutrals alike is a thing with no analogue. We are compelled to meet it. In devising a plan, we have given anxious study to the interests of neutrals. We have settled upon certain general principles that seem to us more favourable to neutrals than are the hitherto sufficient principles of international law.

Some American newspaper, I believe, has said that we, in our turn, are destroying a "scrap of paper." We think we are creating a "scrap of paper," and one with which neutrals, possessing full knowledge, will find no reason to quarrel. If we had recourse to the full rigours of the conventional blockade, we could claim to confiscate ships and cargoes seeking to evade it. What we want to do is to spare neutrals all possible inconvenience and injury—spare their crews, ships, and cargoes—and still throw the last ounce of our naval strength into the effort to break the system that despotism has set in operation against the happiness and prosperity of the world.

About America let me say two or three things with all emphasis. We do not assert any right to ask America to come



VISCOUNT HALDANE
(LORD CHANCELLOR)



into this war. One has heard it said that America, as a result of the faith it has had in the security of peace, is so unprepared for war as to be relatively negligible in a warlike sense. This notion we do not share. We have not a doubt that America would be a most formidable factor in any war in which it might engage. But we do not claim that America should throw its sword into the scale on our behalf. We ask no nation to do this. Such a question as that of peace or war we think should be decided by every nation with sole reference to its own view of its duty and needs. We realize America's situation. We sympathize with President Wilson in what we regard as his honourable fidelity to his official trust.

The whole of the past decade in Europe has been critical. There were moments when peace trembled in the balance. The Agadir incident, particularly, compelled us to face the possibility of war; subsequently things improved. Anglo-German relations appeared to be getting started on the right road. It was with the object of maintaining and accelerating the improvement that I went to Berlin on behalf of the Government in February, 1912.

With Bethmann-Hollweg I had close and interesting conferences. The Kaiser, already well known to me, I saw again, and it was my privilege to talk with many important men. Gratifying as were these interchanges, I came away feeling uneasy. Germany was piling up armaments. She showed no disposition to restrict her naval development.

In my speech at the American Bar Association at Montreal in 1913, I observed that "the world is probably a long way off from the abolition of armaments and the peril of war." I was asked by an interviewer, "Do you think that the Kaiser favoured war?"

Well, in past years I think the Kaiser undoubtedly opposed war, but I am afraid his opposition to it gradually weakened. He appears to have settled into the war mood about two years ago. You will remember a remarkable communication (published in the French Yellow Book) from M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. Pichon, French Minister for Foreign Affairs, in November, 1913, reporting a conversation between the Kaiser and the King of the Belgians, in the presence of the Chief of the German General Staff, General von Moltke, a fortnight before the despatch was written. "Hostility against us is becoming more marked, and the Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace." Thus wrote Cambon,

and he went on to say that the Emperor appeared to be "completely changed"; that he had been "brought to think that war with France must come"; and that he believed in the "crushing superiority of the German Army." I think in the end the Kaiser was borne off his feet completely by the military party.

I am unable to see how there should have been real fear in Germany that England and her Allies were planning an attack upon the Fatherland. Certainly we had done everything in our power to obviate it. When I was in Berlin in 1912, I left no doubt in the minds of the foremost men there of England's pacific purposes and sentiments with reference to Germany. We were prepared, and we definitely told them we were prepared, to enter into the most binding agreement that in no circumstances would we be a party to any sort of aggression against Germany.

Moreover, I did my utmost to make the Berlin statesmen understand England's position. I disabused their minds, if unmistakable language could do it, of all doubt as to what would be England's attitude to a violation of Belgian neutrality. If the Germans ever misunderstood me on this point, they have only themselves to thank. From what I said to Bethmann-Hollweg in so many words there ought to have been no doubt in his mind that we should regard an invasion of Belgium as something over which he could not reckon on our neutrality. I also told him that as long as Germany chose to continue her policy of formidable naval development we should lay down two keels to her one. There was absolutely no ambiguity in my conversation with the German Chancellor, and he understood that all I said on these matters represented the view of the British Government. It was of the very essence of my friendly purpose in going to Berlin to be perfectly candid and explicit. This was so because I felt that in no other way could Anglo-German relations be got upon the right footing.

Pacific Germany utterly failed to assert itself, and the Prussian spirit, temporarily gaining the ascendancy, once it had got control, was in a position to speak with the voice of authority; the rest followed naturally, for no other country so rushes after the flag as does Germany. The moment the Government, won over to the militarist point of view, decided to put forward the claim that the Fatherland was in danger, and that a war was necessary, all Germany responded as one

man. If the war could have been averted for twenty years I have little doubt peace-loving Germany, the Germany that prizes Right above Might, would have gained final control in Berlin, and the war would not have happened.

Assuming that the Allies win, it does not seem to me they will find it easy to democratize German politics, unless the German people respond. It is impossible to impose government from without. Government must come from within. If the Army and the Navy and the men who made the war lose their prestige, Germany will probably recover herself. How can she better do it than by effectualizing her democracy? In other words, I feel that the real Germany, which has made so profound an impression upon the world by reason of great qualities, will take over the government of Germany when the present régime has been discredited and destroyed.

I cannot help thinking that the present war should bring to a permanent end the system whereby political personages use peoples as pawns on a chessboard. I think secret diplomacy will disappear. Certainly, in the light of Austrian methods leading up to this war—methods that went right back to the days of Metternich—political manipulation beyond the reach of the influence of the people it affects ought to disappear.

And I look for a great democratic advance as the result of the war. For a great democratic advance, and for a great moral advance. Might has sought to establish itself as the supreme law. Right is on the defensive. It is giving us some very fine examples of the best there is in human nature.

The object-lessons should be beneficial. Nobility should be quickened. Our standard should be lifted up. We all were too luxurious. Life on the Continent of America is too luxurious. We in London are too luxurious. Berlin was too luxurious. In Paris also people had become luxurious. We shall all be made simpler by this war. We shall be made more frugal, more serious, less cynical, greater. Long years will pass before any one of us ceases to feel the effects of the struggle.

As for democracy, it is democracy's fight—nothing else. The militarist has hurled his system against Europe. It must be broken. When it is broken, a settlement should be possible conserving the political welfare of all the peoples concerned. Freedom for all nationalities is the ideal, and I see no reason why it should not be substantially realized.

When I was in Berlin I was permitted to see a great deal of the way in which they work their military machine. The Kaiser let me see something of the working of the German War Office. Our own Army at this moment is organized upon certain of the great principles of Moltke. The distinctive thing about the German Army I found to be that the administrative work is kept separate from the general staff work, and from command and training. Administrative duties are not laid upon men whose business it ought to be to think out strategical problems and to train soldiers. The general staff officers are free to exercise their professional skill in developing fighting men. This separation of functions I immediately developed in the British Army.

The higher command in the Army I found admirable; the highest command I found dubious. In the higher command reign order, efficiency, science; in the highest command there seems to reign something resembling chaos. The personages of the highest command, of course, are the Kaiser, the heads of the Navy and Army, the Chancellor, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Now all these forces are self-assertive, and they are imperfectly co-ordinated. The heads of the Navy and Army have great influence. The Chancellor presumably has great influence. The Minister for Foreign Affairs cannot do without influence. Yet among all these there does not appear to be any intimacy of understanding. They do not co-operate with one another.

In this respect we in England have much the advantage of them. Thanks to Mr. Balfour, who introduced the system, we have a body in which all points of view are represented, including those of the Colonies. The heads of all departments contribute their ideas to the common stock. Every one sees his own work, not only from his own standpoint, but from the standpoints of all the other chief officials of the Government. The result is that no one does anything in ignorance of what other members of the Government are doing. There is no working at cross-purposes. Germany has, I think, nothing quite so good as this.

It is said that Bethmann-Hollweg and Jagow did not see the Austrian ultimatum before it was delivered. The Kaiser probably saw it. Quite possibly the heads of the Navy and Army saw it. But I doubt whether the Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs did see it. Nothing of that sort could happen under our Government as at present organized.

I do not think the ruling men in Germany feared Great Britain as a fighting power, or regarded us as very formidable. They thought our Army was insignificant, our Navy old-fashioned, and our nation decadent. I do not think they thought we could be aroused to a tremendous national effort. I have no doubt that they counted on the centrifugal forces of our Empire working to our grave embarrassment. They now must know that they misinterpreted these supposed centrifugal forces.

For years Germany has been heaping up armaments. She has built up the most formidable army that ever has existed, and a navy by no means negligible. Her arsenals are filled with munitions. She has selected her own time for a stupendous war of aggression. We were much less prepared. Parenthetically, Germany had constructed a great system of strategical railways parallel to the Russian frontier; Russia had done no corresponding thing. Now, fully prepared for war, with colossal accumulations of war material, Germany decides upon the moment for war, and declares war. Is there any fairness, any chivalry, in her trying to prevent us, in full accord with international usage, from going into neutral markets to buy the implements that Germany's action causes us so direly to need?

I am glad to know that American thought rejects the German proposal. I am glad to know that the American press is standing for the principle of the right of nations to buy munitions when they are attacked. Germany supplied large quantities of munitions of war to Russia during the war with Japan, and thought it no breach of neutrality then. Why should it be such now?

If the Allies win—if Germany, who has carried her military preparations to a pitch heretofore unknown, finds herself beaten—I do not imagine any nation in the future will be likely to pin its faith to armaments. If Germany, armed as she was armed, could not win, how could any nation hope to win by means of arms? I am hopeful that the world as a result of this war will get rid of at least a part of the burden of armaments. I am hopeful that civilization is going to do something to defend itself against war.

We now know that the effects of war cannot be localized. We know that two considerable Powers cannot fight without inflicting considerable disturbance and loss on the whole world. Definite knowledge is necessary to definite action. I

believe that the world is going so to organize itself that no nation, out of ambition or fear, or because of any other influence or motive, will be permitted to go to war. This means that differences somehow must be settled by arbitration. If the world had been so organized last July, Germany could not have refused to accept our proposal for a peaceful settlement of the issue at stake.

As regards the fate of Constantinople and the Dardenelles, I feel certain it can be settled satisfactorily. In any case I imagine the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus will be open to the merchant ships of all nations. What a glorious thing it would be for Germany and for every one else if, following the American example at Panama, she dealt with the Kiel Canal as America has dealt with the Panama Canal, and then settled down to fifty years of peace, industry, and reform ! If she did this—abandoned all her ideals of war as a means of getting on—I do not think the future would suggest to her any reason to return to the discarded system.

I am far from sure that, even if Germany had respected the neutrality of Belgium, England would have remained out of the war. Belgium touched our honour ; France touched our feelings and our interests. Having regard to the theories of world conquest behind the successful German movement in favour of a war of aggression, it seems to me it would have been madness on our part to have sat with hands folded while Germany removed the Continental obstacles in the way of her laying siege to the British Empire.

In the best of circumstances we are very near the striking power of Germany. I do not think we possibly could have permitted that striking power to come still nearer and absorb the States nearest to us without a desperate attempt to prevent it ; but the attack upon Belgium gave us no time for thought or choice ; we had to resist the violation of the treaty and the wrong done to a weaker State, or we should have been disgraced.

PHILIP SNOWDEN

[Speech in which the Socialist attitude regarding the war is fairly stated.
The speech was delivered at Blackburn, February 14, 1915.]

No man in a public position can speak upon the topic which is now absorbing all our thoughts without a deep sense of the grave responsibility attaching to his words. I think that, from some points of view, the present is not a favourable moment for the critical discussion of the causes—complex and difficult to understand—which in combination with each other have brought about this terrible catastrophe, which for the time being has submerged democracy, religion and civilization itself. There was a time, I believe, in the few fateful days when the peace of Europe was trembling in the balance, when the united voices of the European democracies and the joint efforts of all the Christian Churches of Europe might have averted the outbreak of war. But the thing came upon the world so suddenly, that the people were dazed and stupefied, and before the democratic, religious and pacifist forces could be mobilized the intrigues of monarchs, diplomatists, and militarists let loose the dogs of war. Although I do not agree with, I can well understand those who, when war was declared, took the view that the situation was then completely changed, and that national patriotism, national security, and the higher interests of liberty and democratic freedom impelled them to abandon the peace principles and internationalism for which they had previously stood, and to concentrate their minds and efforts on the successful prosecution of the war. But, to safeguard the great principles of liberty, and to carry on this war to such an issue as will bring some eternal good out of this appalling evil, it is not necessary for democrats, and socialists especially, to tacitly admit that all the principles of peace and internationalism, and their criticisms of capitalism and foreign policies have been unsound and erroneous. On the contrary, this war, when its inwardness shall be clearly understood, is a complete justification of the attacks upon militarism in all its forms and in all countries, and upon the economic interests

which have fomented international jealousies, and upon the undemocratic and antidemocratic character of the foreign diplomacy of all the nations. I stand where I did on all these questions. In a far truer sense than those people mean or understand who now tell us that this war was inevitable I have always believed and declared that there was no other issue than this possible if the nations of Europe, with the passive assent of the working classes of all the countries and to the silence of the Christian Churches, pursued the foreign policies they have followed for the last fifteen years, and if they continued to provoke the jealousies of each other by the mad policy of military and naval armaments. We had made Europe into a huge powder magazine, and the spark which would explode the magazine was certain one day to be deliberately or carelessly ignited. I have no desire now to be captious or critical as to the causes of the war, and I refer to the matter now for two reasons only, namely to give me an opportunity of making my own position clear, because in all my public life I have unceasingly fought against militarism in all its forms, and have worked for a better understanding between the workers of all nations, which is the only way in which international jealousies can be removed, and militarism and despotism in all countries be swept away. I refer to the causes of the war for one other reason. If this war is going to achieve the purpose for which we at least declare we have entered upon it, namely to put an end to war, to destroy militarism, to secure the independence and freedom of small nationalities, we must understand the causes of the war in order to remove them and to prevent a repetition of this terrible calamity.

On the whole the temper and spirit of the British people in this awful affair has been admirable. To contrast the national temper now with the minds and passions of the people at the time of the Boer War, is to discover a change of a remarkable character, and one which fills us with hope for the future. I have found the spirit which now animates the people here at home possessing the people of our own race in every part of the British Empire, and, apart from the large population of German descent, in the United States also. It has filled me with unspeakable satisfaction. Nowhere have I found any glorification of war, no vain boastfulness, no lust for blood or territory, but everywhere a sadness, a horror, a shame that in these days such a war should be possible between nations professedly civilized and religious, and an earnest hope that this

war may be the means of bringing near the day of universal peace. There have been, as there must be at a time when people's feelings and sympathies are excited, efforts in some quarters to inflame hate and passion. Above all else this is a danger we ought to avoid, for we must remember that, if the settlement of this war is going to be on lines which at present all sensible people desire, namely a permanent peace based upon satisfaction and goodwill, we must try to keep down the passions of hatred and malice. I was very glad to see the *Times* newspaper, in a remarkable leading article some time ago, urged the great importance of this point, and that the late Lord Roberts, just before his death, made a similar appeal to the British people.

I venture to urge this counsel also because I do so earnestly desire that when the time comes for the consideration of the terms of peace, as I hope it may speedily come, all parties may meet in a spirit and temper suitable for a successful settlement of the serious work they will have to do.

There are certain features of this question of the causes of the war which I do not think it is either desirable or profitable to discuss at this moment. When a war is in progress the people's minds are not in a fit state to calmly and dispassionately consider and discuss the question of who is to blame. There never was a war when the popular opinion as to its causes was the same which history, looking at the questions through an atmosphere unclouded by the smoke of battle, afterwards endorsed. It was so in recent times in the two last great wars in which Britain fought—the Crimean War and the Boer War. No good can come now from any attempt to attach blame to this individual or to that. But we can and must endeavour to discover and to discuss in a tolerant spirit the general causes and policies responsible for the war, because, as I said just now, that is necessary in order to come to a conclusion as to what must be done to avoid such a catastrophe in the future.

To set down the war as being due to one simple cause, as for instance the teaching of a German University professor who died twenty years ago, may be easy and convenient, but it is unconvincing and foolish. Not one of the many causes which have been put forward would of itself be sufficient to explain the war, not one of these suggested causes would of itself have brought about the war, but a number of causes jointly operating have had the cumulative effect of bringing

about this awful disaster. I do not think that the democracies of Europe can escape their responsibility for this war. It may be due to the military spirit of Prussia—to the desire of Germany for world domination ; it may be due to the imperial aggrandizement of Russia putting forward another effort to extend the Slav domination which now rules the half of Europe and the half of Asia ; it may be due to a desire on the part of France to avenge her defeat forty years ago ; but, if it be any one of these causes or any other cause, the responsibility rests primarily with the democracies of the respective countries, who have taken little or no interest in international affairs, and who have left European foreign politics to be managed by Kaisers, Tsars, militarists, and diplomatists, who were altogether out of sympathy with democracy, and had economic and other interests opposed to those of the workers of the world. I would set this down as the first cause of the war ; and unless the outcome of this war be the full recognition of that fact by the democracies of Europe, and the establishment of some system of democratic control of national and international affairs, then the war will have been fought in vain, and the awful sacrifices will have been to no useful end. The workers of the European countries are responsible for the war, in the sense that they have been negligent in preventing it, but they are not responsible in the sense that they desired the war.

Only a democrat or a socialist would agree with what I have just said about the responsibility of the working classes of the different countries for the war. A student of European history, or an intelligent and experienced diplomatist, would assign other reasons, and he would be right in his description of the influences which have been operating in foreign policy and diplomatic embassies. In the narrower, but very important, sense this is not a war between Germany and Great Britain, nor between France and Germany. Both France and Great Britain are in the war because of alliances and treaty obligations. It is primarily a war between Russia and Germany ; it is the old quarrel for supremacy between the Teuton and the Slav. On the part of Russia it arose from their desire to protect the people of their own race in the Near East. On the part of Germany it was a war prompted by the fear of Russian aggression. The Germans may have been wrong I can express no opinion on the point, but no one who has travelled in Germany or who has associated with German socialists can be ignorant of the genuine fear of Russian aggres-

sion which was entertained by them. It may be that the motive of the war, so far as the Prussian Junkers are concerned, was aggressive, but that certainly was not the motive of the German working classes. The German socialists in the main, and the whole German nation, at home and abroad, have been united in support of this war, because they believe that it is a war against Russian aggression. The alliance of Russia and France for offensive as well as defensive purposes enabled the military bureaucracy of Prussia to put forward patent and plausible reasons in support of the alleged Russian danger.

A third contributory cause of the war is the reversal in recent years of the old foreign policy of Great Britain. Lord Salisbury, probably the greatest Foreign Minister this country has ever had, was the last British Minister to hold to the traditional Liberal policy of Great Britain to keep us free from all Continental alliances, to avoid all entanglements which might appear to be hostile to any other European country, and to reject the balance-of-power policy. In short, the traditional policy of England was to avoid becoming a Continental power.

But fifteen years ago we began to depart from that policy. Mr. Chamberlain was the first statesman to suggest a Continental alliance. He did that in his famous speech at Leicester in 1899, when he proposed an alliance with our next of kin—Germany. It was an unfortunate time to make the proposal. We were in the thick of the Boer War, and feeling against us upon the continent of Europe was very strong. Finding Germany unwilling to look with favour upon the proposal of an alliance our statesmen turned to France. A number of reasons no doubt influenced our ministers in coming to an understanding with France—our desire for a free hand in Egypt, for instance. But there might have been one other reason, to which I have seen no reference in this controversy. Germany was beginning to build her fleet. France was already a strong naval power, with bases within striking distance of our shores, and disputing with us the control of the narrow seas around our coast. As we know now, but as we did not know, and as the majority of our Cabinet did not know until the crisis of last August occurred, our relations with France became closer and closer, through secret understandings, until there existed between the two nations what practically amounted to a moral obligation on our part of assisting France in case of attack. We permitted France to withdraw her fleet from the English

Channel, and to concentrate it in the Mediterranean. It is true that we were under no Treaty obligation to assist France, but two or three members of the Cabinet had been pursuing a policy towards France for some years, unknown to the rest of their colleagues, which had encouraged France to believe that she could count upon our support in case of war. The definite alliance between France and Russia involved our commitment to the support of Russia through our commitment to France. The question of the invasion of Belgium was not the reason why we went to war. It provided a popular justification for our intervention, and turned popular criticism away from the action of the Government in secretly committing the country to France. Mr. Winston Churchill at Liverpool frankly stated that he gave his support to the war because he desired to assist France. The invasion of Belgium had above all other things influenced—and I think in a way rightly influenced—public opinion. In violating the neutrality of Belgium Germany had committed not only a great crime, but a great blunder.

Among other causes of the war was the character of our diplomatic service. We have for a century been trying to democratize our internal politics, but we have allowed the diplomatic service and the conduct of our foreign affairs to remain the same as in the days when the right of the people to political influence was not admitted by Parliament. The diplomatic service was as far removed from contact with the life of the people and from democratic institutions and influence as it was possible to be. It might be difficult for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, but it was still more difficult for a poor man to enter the diplomatic service. Of the twenty last appointments to the diplomatic service, ten were the sons of peers, and the other ten belonged to the same social class. Ninety per cent. of those who had entered the Diplomatic Service in the last ten years were educated at Eton. There was a condition that no person could receive a nomination from the Secretary of State unless his parents or guardians could guarantee that he had a private allowance of not less than £400 a year. He must also serve two years abroad without salary. The main qualification for a candidate for the diplomatic service was that he must be able to deport himself agreeably in foreign high society. What sort of foreign policy are we likely to get so long as we leave its conduct to men like these, without any Parliamentary control whatever? There is the closest con-

nection between the diplomatic service and the military classes in this country. The men in each belong to the same class, they have the same traditions, the same training, the same outlook.

There was one further influence which had been making for war to which some reference must be made. Twelve months ago the Parliamentary Labour Party appeared to attach some importance to this influence, but in the stress of other work during recent months they appear to have forgotten it. I refer to the armament ring. The only reference I have seen to this matter lately was by the erratic genius, Mr. H. G. Wells, who said this war must mean the destruction of Kruppism. But why should Mr. Wells describe the traffic in armaments as "Kruppism"? I can give no reason except that it is fashionable now to regard every evil—capitalism, militarism, imperialism—as being exclusively confined to Germany. As a matter of fact we have in this country larger financial interests in the manufacture of armaments than the financial interests of the great Krupp concern, and our armament firms have their ramifications the wide world over. These firms had their agents going from Berlin to Paris to inflame the French nation through the press against Germany, and going back to Berlin to tell the Germans how France was preparing for war, and then as we know they came to London to tell the Government stories about what Krupps were doing. These financial interests have undoubtedly had a bad influence in international relations, and this question will have to be seriously considered when the time for the settlement of the war arrives.

It is necessary to take a wide and comprehensive view of all the questions involved in this war if a permanent peace is to come out of it. If the people of this country labour under the idea that the evil spirit they have to destroy is confined to one country they will fail to accomplish any real settlement. Some people talk as if there was no such thing as militarism in this country. Do you remember what was the absorbing national topic immediately before the war broke out? It was whether Parliament or militarism was to rule. We had the Army defying King, Parliament, and the People, and asserting its authority over all. Some sapient socialists have said that this is not a capitalist war. It is impossible to distinguish between militarism and capitalism. Militarism was necessary to capitalism. Militarism is the force by which capitalism preserves and maintains its position.

If the war is settled on the lines of the declaration made by

the Premier at Dublin, all democrats will welcome and support such a settlement. Mr. Asquith's speech was a condemnation of the whole foreign policy of the other European countries during the last fifteen years, for he repudiated the policy of alliances, compacts, understandings, and balances. If they could have such a change in foreign policy they might hope for a considerable reduction of armaments, for armaments were determined by policy. We shall not be ready for disarmament when the war is over, but if the democracies of Europe will rise to the occasion there may be such an understanding as will reduce armies and navies to the requirements of defensive purposes only.

It is yet too early for us to see what great changes this war will bring about. But of this we may now be certain—that when it is over and our minds are free to look around, we shall find that all things have assumed a new form, as though some great earthquake had changed the face of the land. We shall have new estimates of the real value of things. Many of the things we have treasured will appear as dross, and the stones which we have rejected will become the corner stones of the new temple we shall build. This is a time when principles whose foundations rest on sand cannot endure, but those which are built upon the eternal rock of justice and liberty stand, though the earth shake and hurricanes of blood and fire beat upon them. It is the faith that somehow good will be the final goal of ill which sustains us in these days when the powers of Darkness seem to be triumphant. The strange incident on Christmas morn, when the soldiers left their trenches and fraternized together, was the promise of the Universal Brotherhood which will yet be realized. In that incident was symbolized the rebirth of the Prince of Peace, and the great facts that love is stronger than hate, that the peoples of the nations have no quarrels, that it is to the prophets and seers who have foretold the coming of the reign of peace, and not to the powerful and mighty of the earth, that the true vision of the future has been disclosed. I shall not live to see the day when all wars shall cease and ancient strife shall end, but in this dark hour I am sustained by the unshaken conviction that peace will ultimately reign from pole to pole, and I pray that you and I may work to hasten that day—for Peace is the only sure foundation upon which we can secure the liberty and the happiness of humanity, and upon which the lasting glory and greatness of a nation can be built.

PRINCE LICHNOWSKY

[Speech of the late German Ambassador at the dinner given in his honour by the Oxford University Anglo-German Club, June 3, 1914. The University at a special Convocation conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Civil Law. The speech was delivered in German, and has an interesting bearing on the Great War, betraying the sinister influences of German Philosophy.]

GENTLEMEN :—I believe the honour you have so generously conferred on me is not on account of any merits in the field of knowledge I may possess, but is probably intended to encourage the efforts I have made to become more closely acquainted with English life and English thought, and also to express your approval of the political line I have followed. But, above all, I believe it has been desired to mark the community of ideas which this celebrated University has maintained with German thought for centuries past by fostering and furthering German intellectual life. Professor Fielder, in his pregnant speech, laid stress upon the fact that the Emperor William is one of you, and that exactly one hundred years ago his Majesty's august great-grandfather had the distinction of being made an Hon. Doctor here in Oxford. The latter stayed here with his two sons, one of whom became King Frederick IV., and the other the Emperor Wilhelm I.

Great events have happened during these hundred years. The balance of power has been shifted, and as a result the grouping of the Powers has also been changed. But the goal towards which the British and the German peoples were aiming in those stormy times after years of fighting, and which is still their aim to-day in the unclouded atmosphere of civic progress, has remained the same.

Then, as now, our Monarchs joined hands to maintain peace and to protect civic industry. Then, as now, both British and German policies were in agreement in the endeavour to secure for their peoples the blessings of undisturbed intellectual and economic development. In those days Goethe still lived ; Schiller had been dead only a few years. The

period of intellectual development and literary growth had preceded the period of political progress and the mighty awakening of Germany to the consciousness of her nationality. Our great poets had contributed towards arousing a sense of the ideals of mankind in the German people. By their immortal works they had greatly enhanced the intrinsic value of German culture and thus helped to found the proud sense of nationality. After a period of national listlessness they had laid the foundations for the great awakening which followed.

It has often been debated whether there is any connexion between the literary and political growth of a nation. I think I may say that they are necessarily parallel influences dependent one on the other, a view also shared by Treitschke, and that it is the feeling for the ideal instilled by the Universities, by the men of learning and the great poets, which makes a nation capable of aiming at national ideals, of having faith in itself, and carrying out great political aims. Thus we see that the growth of intellectual power frequently precedes political action, and if, according to Friedrich Nietzsche, human culture depends on the dominance of ideas, the fostering of these ideas which crystallize into ideals rests with the Universities. That is why political movements which pay homage to the national ideals are so often set in motion and carried out by the enthusiastic youth of the Universities. But the national conception which forms the intermediary stage between individuality and humanity reposes mainly on the community of the leading ideals which have received their character from our poets and historians and become embodied in our great Monarchs, statesmen, and generals, and in the foremost representatives of learning and the Arts.

If they are not to die, these ideals must be renewed and revived, and remodelled and developed according to modern requirements, for, as Nietzsche puts it, the living are not to be ruled by the dead. According to Helmholtz it is the pure love of truth that leads to the greatest victories when it penetrates into the realms of the unknown. This task is undertaken by both the British and the German Universities, and it would therefore be idle to discuss which of their respective methods of teaching is to be preferred. I like to think that the one very happily completes the other, and that in this case, too, he only would err who pretends that he alone is the possessor of the genuine ring. The more German science and literature are studied in Britain and British science and literature in

Germany the more will the intellectual possessions and values of both nations become their common property, and both nations be found nearer to one another in their inner lives. The foundation of a mutual appreciation, by the possession of the same ideals and a community of culture and ethics, will be widened, and in this way the Universities will also help forward political aims.

Therefore I cannot sufficiently express my pleasure in seeing numbers of my youthful fellow countrymen gathered here this evening whose mission it will be some day to help the German people to an understanding of British feeling and British customs, and to spread among us a knowledge of the ideals which give to British culture its distinctive character, and which thus govern the soul of the British nation.

No one has depicted the magic of Oxford in more eloquent words than Matthew Arnold, and the impetus given to our aspirations towards higher aims of which we are all conscious when in her midst. "Steeped in sentiment as she lies, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantment to the Middle Age, who will deny that Oxford, by her ineffable charm, keeps ever calling us nearer to the true goal of all of us, to the ideal, to perfection—to beauty, in a word, which is only truth seen from another side?—nearer, perhaps, than all the science of Tübingen."

Nevertheless, it was Matthew Arnold who showed a complete understanding of German intellectual life in his well-known verses on Goethe, and no one more than he led the way here in Oxford to an appreciation of German research and the German spirit. Hardly any other English poet has fostered and spread the love of German literature here in Oxford more than he has done. I am also especially pleased to know that a large number of German students meet in Oxford every year to worship at the shrine of British learning, not forgetting British sport, which finds so many followers in our midst, and which conduces greatly to the moral and physical strengthening of the nation.

It may be said that the people who cultivate sports govern the world, and will do so more and more. I regret sincerely that I had not the privilege of studying here myself, but I hope to make up for it by letting my sons keep some terms. [Cheers.] I need not dwell on the merits of English Universities, they are known to us all. They tend to the development of a strong personality and the formation of men of

independence and character who are well fitted to be pioneers and to carry West European culture to the furthestmost regions of the earth. It is through British University life that the word "gentleman" has gained the superlative meaning which enables it to be accepted by all nations as a standard of culture so that one may say that the gentleman has conquered the entire civilized world. To-day the term gentleman represents the generally accepted standard of social worth, by which all people are measured. The standpoint of a gentleman has become part of the ethics of modern life, it is the "virtus" of to-day; the social manners of a gentleman represent the international "comment," to use a German student's expression. If I am rightly informed, Cecil Rhodes held this view when he became a leader of British Imperialism. He also recognized the compatibility of British and German political needs, he recognized that there was a place in the sun for both, and he was further convinced of the near relationship of British and German culture, I may say of their mutual completion. He thought that the Teutonic race on the foundation of Latin culture was fitted as was no other race to fulfil the mission of Western European civilization. He expressed this idea when he founded the scholarships to which we owe the presence here of many young Germans. Cecil Rhodes, it is true, was above everything an Englishman, but his political and philosophical views were not bound by national prejudices and narrow political limits, nor did he belong to those ideologues who, with mistaken humanitarianism and philanthropy, would give to all races of mankind the same political rights to assert themselves according to their own laws and desires. He was of opinion that in the case of the whole of mankind the law held good that the fittest will survive. He believed that mankind develops according to its law and not according to discretion.

I am of opinion, gentlemen, that the roots of political ethics are to be found in the recognition of this law, in the extension and the dominance of the most powerful and superior races, whose success must simultaneously benefit and improve the whole of mankind. Cecil Rhodes was of opinion that the whole of humanity would be best served if the Teutonic peoples were brought nearer together, and would join hands for the purpose of spreading their civilization to distant regions.

In the presence of so many distinguished representatives of literature and its history I need not explain how deeply rooted with us in Germany is the admiration we feel for the

great names of British poetry. I will merely remind you that only a few weeks ago the German Shakespeare Society celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. This Society is not only the first German Society of its kind to be formed, and which the Goethe, Dante, and other similar societies have followed, but it is also the only one which has been successful in devoting itself solely to the study of a foreign poet. The causes which have made it possible for a foreign poet to exercise so potent an attraction are manifold. Primarily they lie in the fact that in our feelings this greatest of British poets has already almost become a German, and that the works of no other foreigner have penetrated so deeply into the soul of the German people. Heine says: "The only thing the Germans cannot forgive in Shakespeare is that he did not choose to be born in Germany." Shakespeare, too, has special political attractions for us, because of his outspoken patriotism and national public feeling. Besides this, he has had it in his favour that England has always been regarded as the land of political liberty, and that here were started constitutional rights and the foundation of those civic rights which have spread victoriously throughout the whole of Europe. Hence for us Shakespeare has become a political poet whom we claim as our own, together with Goethe and Schiller.

I rejoice to find that the advanced study of the German language here is especially helpful to our aims, and, besides, this evening I have noticed with satisfaction how much our mother tongue is in evidence in this University. The days are past when the Briton learnt no foreign language, and it is no longer a sign of the unadulterated Englishman that he understands no foreign idiom. It is not very long ago that Prince Bismarck was said to have expressed the opinion that he mistrusted every Englishman who mastered foreign languages; he did not look upon him as a genuine Britisher, but as a colourless international type which he mistrusted. My experience has shown me that the present-day genuine Englishman speaks German as well as we speak English, with this difference only, that the English are less venturesome than we are in the region of foreign tongues. In concluding, I would ask you all to drink with me to the health of the University and the two Societies whose guests we are, and to their continued successful work in helping forward British-German intellectual brotherhood.

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